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THE EARLY PRINTERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

By KONRAD HAEBLER

Illustrated Monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society.
No. IV.

ILLUSTRATED MONOGRAPHS.

No. IV.

THE

EARLY PRINTERS

OF

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

By KONRAD HAEBLER

LONDON
PRINTED FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
AT THE CHISWICK PRESS
March 1897 for 1896

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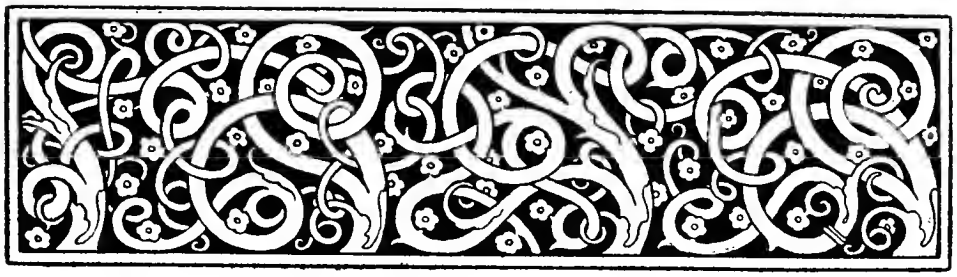
PREFACE.

ANY value which the following treatise may possess is to a considerable extent due to the kind help which I have received from all those to whom I appealed for it. My most important discovery—that of the name of the first printer of Spain—was arrived at with the aid of the notes which M. Léopold Delisle had the kindness to send me on the Spanish *incunabula* at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. I am indebted for similar notes to Monsieur Fétis of Brussels; to Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz of Lisbon; to Dr. Capra of Cagliari, Señor Casan y Alegre of Valencia, Dr. Julio Gonzalez of Toledo, Mademoiselle Pellechet of Paris, Dr. Dziatzko of Göttingen, Dr. Gödllin von Tiefenau of Vienna, and Mr. Robert Proctor of the British Museum. To all these kind helpers, and to Mr. Reginald S. Faber for his assistance in rendering my style more acceptable to English readers, I offer my most sincere thanks.

To the Bibliographical Society I must also express my gratitude for charging itself with the publication of my paper, and for illustrating it with so many facsimiles from the Spanish books in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. It is only by means of such facsimiles that we can hope to throw new light on the numerous *incunabula* of unknown origin, which hitherto have not yielded much information to the student of early printing.

KONRAD HAEBLER.

DRESDEN, *March*, 1897.



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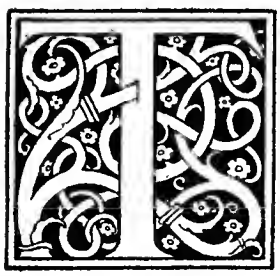

Literature of the subject.

THE most neglected part of the history of early printing is that which concerns the Iberian peninsula. The Spaniards indeed have done something for it, but the works of Raymundo Diosdado Caballero [1] and of Francisco Mendez [2] are only in part written from personal knowledge, much of them being made up of second-hand information of doubtful value. A second edition of the work of Mendez was brought out by Dionisio Hidalgo in 1861, but uncorrected, though it contained a reprint of some other articles on the history of printing, and additions of his own. These give some very valuable information, but they are incomplete and sometimes inexact, like the work of his predecessor. In recent times the Spaniards have published some good studies on the history of printing in single

[1] *De prima typographiae Hispanicae aetate specimen.* Rom., 1793. 2nd ed. Madrid, 1865.

[2] *Tipografia Española ó historia de la introduccion, propagacion y progresos del arte de la imprenta en España. . . . Su autor Fray Francisco Mendez. . . . Segunda edicion corregida y adicionada por Don Dionisio Hidalgo.* Madrid, 1861. (Quoted in the following pages as *Mendez-Hid.*)

Literature of the subject.

places. Such are those by Perez Pastor on Toledo,[1] Madrid,[2] and Medina del Campo,[3] by Catalina Garcia on Alcala,[4] and by Escudero on Seville,[5] while a similar publication is in preparation by Serrano Morales on Valencia. These, however, for the most part contain mere enumerations of the books printed in the places they deal with, and are thus only the materials for a real history of the press. When we have added to them the *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos* by B. I. Gallardo and his continuators,[6] which gives the description of more than 4,000 rare Spanish books, and the catalogues of the private libraries of Salvá[7] and of Heredia,[8] we have completed the list of the contributions made to our subject by Spanish writers.

Beyond the Pyrenees almost nothing has been done for the history of printing in Spain. The celebrated *Repertorium* of Hain[9] is very defective in this respect; only the few Spanish *incunabula* in the Munich library being at all exactly described. The only foreign student who has occupied himself with the subject is Herr Volger,[10] whose attempts are very much superior to those of the Spanish writers. But his article is neither complete nor accurate, and as he has not supported his statements by publishing the list of the *incunabula* consulted and quoted by him, he has left his successors to begin the work entirely afresh.

As regards the history of its press, Portugal has had somewhat

[1] *La imprenta en Toledo.* Madrid, 1887. (Where only the name of Perez Pastor is quoted, this work is always meant.)

[2] *Bibliografia Madrileña.* (Siglo XVI.) Madrid, 1891.

[3] *La imprenta en Medina del Campo.* Madrid, 1895.

[4] *Ensayo de una tipografia Complutense.* Madrid, 1889.

[5] *Tipografia Hispalense. Anales bibliograficos de la ciudad de Sevilla.* Madrid, 1894.

[6] *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos.* Vols. i.-iv. Madrid, 1863-89. (Quoted as *Gallardo.*)

[7] *Catalogo de la biblioteca de Salvá.* Vols. i., ii. Valencia, 1872.

[8] *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia comte de Benahavis.* Vols. i.-iv. Paris, 1891-94.

[9] *Repertorium typographicum.* Vol. i., 1—ii., 2. Stuttgart et Paris, 1826-38.

[10] *Die ältesten Drucker und Druckorte der Pyrenäischen Halbinsel.* In *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin.* Vol. 49. (1872.) Pp. 88-126.

better luck than Spain, for the superficial work of Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos[1] has been followed by the very conscientious studies of Tito Noronha,[2] and the collection of documents relative to the history of printing in Portugal by Deslandes[3] is a book of an almost unique character. To balance this industry among native writers, printing in Portugal has been totally neglected by foreigners, chiefly, no doubt, because it scarcely began there before 1500.

Introduction of printing into Spain.

Thus the history of the introduction of printing into the Peninsula has still to be written, but the materials for such a history are now so abundant that an attempt to compile it will not, I hope, prove wholly fruitless.

As in other parts of Europe, the early printers of Spain and Portugal were mostly Germans, who had migrated from home to earn their living in foreign lands by the exercise of the new art. That the first introduction of printing into Spain was due to German workmen was thus a reasonable presumption, but until lately it was impossible to prove it satisfactorily.

The Barcelona Book of "1468."

If we were to believe a small octavo volume, dated Barcelona, 1468, the art of printing would have found its way to Spain with marvellous rapidity. This book, composed by one Bartholomeus Mates, and entitled, *Pro condendis orationibus juxta grammaticas leges*, contains the colophon: "Libellus pro efficiendis orationibus, ut grammatice artis leges expostulant, a docto viro Bertolomeo Mates conditus et per P. Johannem Matoses Christi ministrum presbiterumque castigatus et emendatus sub impensis Guillermi ros et mira arte impressa per Johannem gherlinc alamanum finitur barcynone nonis octobriis

[1] *Memoria sobre as origens da typographia em Portugal no seculo XV.* In *Memorias de litteratura portugueza.* Vol. viii., p. 1, ss.

Memoria para a historia da typographia portugueza no seculo XVI. *Ib.*, p. 77, ss.

[2] *A imprensa portugueza no seculo XVI. . . . Ordenações do reino.* Porto, 1873. *A imprensa portugueza durante o seculo XVI.* Porto, 1874.

[3] *Documentos para a historia da typographia portugueza nos seculos XVI e XVII.* Vols. i., ii. Lisboa, 1881-82.

The Barcelona book of "1468," and Johann Gherling.

anni a nativitate christi Mcccclxviii." When this rare little work was first discovered in 1833, the city of Barcelona claimed the precedence over all places of Spain in reference to printing, which hitherto it had scarcely been able to contest with Valencia.[1] But there were few students outside Barcelona who acknowledged the claim. A closer scrutiny of the book demonstrated the falsity of its pretended date. It is a pity that the author, editor, and publisher are alike totally unknown, and are not mentioned anywhere else. This is not the case with the printer, Johann Gherling; but even our information about him does not help us to ascertain the date of his Barcelona book. He is known as the printer, in 1494 and 1496, of two other works; but the places where he produced them are so far from Barcelona that it is almost impossible to state whether he came to them from the capital of Catalonia, or whether he went to Barcelona after having printed the *Breviarium Braccarense* in Braga and the *Manuale sacramentorum* in Monterey. Both books are of the utmost rarity, an additional reason why we are unable to make any conjectures about the life and adventures of their printer. For the present we cannot advance beyond the position of Volger[2] and Salvá,[3] who have proved that the *Mates*, though printed in the fifteenth century, cannot belong to the first years after the introduction of printing into Spain, and that in its date there is one of those errors not at all uncommon in these ancient productions, but which often cannot be corrected with certainty. Perhaps new discoveries among the *incunabula* in Spanish church libraries which have not yet been searched with care, will help us some day to decide the question of the date of this book; but at present the question must be left open.

It is not probable that Barcelona was the cradle of the art of printing in Spain, though it had always been one of the great centres of commerce, of industry, and of progress. The second half of

[1] D(on) J(aime) R(ipoll) V(illamajor). *Barcelona fue la primera ciudad de España donde se introdujo la imprenta.* Vich., 1833. Reprinted in the 2nd ed. of Mendez' *Tipografia*, p. 262, ss.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 94.

[3] Vol. ii., pp. 432-3.

the fifteenth century was no period of prosperity for the capital of Catalonia. The wars in which the Italian politics of Alfonso V. had involved it had done great damage to its trade, and the misfortunes begun by the foreign wars were intensified by the home troubles which followed the second marriage of King John II. of Aragon and the pretensions of Don Carlos de Viana to the throne of the principality. The narratives of travellers and the letters of foreign merchants inform us that during the latter half of the fifteenth century Valencia became the centre of foreign commerce, for the convenience of which its celebrated *lonja* was built during these same years. It was the great meeting-place for strangers from all countries, and as foreigners introduced printing into Spain it is at Valencia that we must expect to meet them first.

1474. Printing introduced at Valencia.

I. 1474. Press of Lambert Palmart at Valencia.

Indeed, the first books printed in Spain and bearing a date (1474) were really executed at Valencia, but by whom it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain. We did not know until lately of more than three early books with the peculiarity of being printed in Roman type, the great majority of Spanish *incunabula* being printed in Gothic character. Herr Volger[1] had already remarked this fact, and he even believed he had discovered the printers of this interesting group of books. Brunet,[2] in mentioning one of them, the *Sallustius* completed at Valencia, July 13th, 1475, states that it was printed by Lambert Palmart and Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba. Relying on this statement, Herr Volger took for granted that, as these three books must all have issued from the same press, they must all have been executed by Fernandez and Palmart. But Brunet's note was only repeated from Castilho Barreto e Noronha, who, in his *Relatorio acerca da Bibliotheca nacional de Lisboa*,[3] supposes that these printers produced the *Sallust*, though confessing that the

[1] *L. c.*, p. 119.
[2] *Manuel du Libraire.* 5th ed. Vol. v., p. 82.
[3] Vol. i., p. 142.

Lambert Palmart and Fernandez de Cordoba.

copy before him bore no indication of their having done so. Nor at this time was there known any book printed in Roman type by these printers, all the books bearing the name of Lambert Palmart alone or in conjunction with Fernandez, as well as the *Summula*, printed by Fernandez alone, being in Gothic letter. But a fourth book has been discovered lately, printed at Valencia in Roman type, and bearing the name of Lambert Palmart only.

Mendez as well as Hain reported the title only, without further particulars, of a *Tertia pars Summae Sancti Thomae*, printed at Valencia in 1477. It seems that there exists no copy of this rare book in Spain, for none of the Spanish bibliographers has done more than repeat the quotation of Mendez. But a copy of it is in the National Library at Paris, and when M. Leopold Delisle sent me a description of it, I was very pleased to find that the book is printed in Roman type with the colophon: "Finit feliciter tercia pars summe sancti thome de aquino impressa Valentie per magistrum Lambertum palmart Alemanum." Thus the long-disputed question about the first printer of Spain was answered at last. We have a group of four, or possibly five, books printed in Roman type, and apparently all of common origin; and as Lambert Palmart alone was undoubtedly the printer of the latest of them, we may suppose that they were all executed by him only. He afterwards entered into partnership with Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba, but from that time printed no more in Roman, but only in Gothic type. The partnership with Fernandez seems to have been an event of no great importance in the life of Palmart; they printed only one book together, a Bible in Catalan, of which no entire copy is known. The last leaves only of a copy existed at the end of the last century, but are said to have since disappeared. From these the interesting colophon was copied, stating that the book was printed by Palmart and Fernandez at the expense of the Right Honourable Philipp Vizlandt, merchant of Isny in Upper Germany. Probably the Inquisition was active in causing the destruction of all copies throughout the Peninsula. Another book, a *Summula confessionis*, claims to have been printed by Fernandez alone. But

it seems to have been executed with the same types as the Catalan Bible and the books subsequently printed by Palmart only. The latter continued printing for a long time, but no further mention is made of Fernandez either at Valencia or elsewhere. There is indeed a family of printers of this name at Valladolid in the sixteenth century, who began printing about 1538, and continued at work through three generations, at least till 1612; but there is no Alonso among them, and the interval from 1478 to 1538 is too great, and the name Fernandez de Cordoba too common for us to assume any connection between Alonso and the Diego Fernandez de Cordoba who heads the line of printers of that name at Valladolid. Very probably also Alonso, like Gabriel Luis de Arinyo and others, was only the promoter of the productions which bear his name, whilst Palmart was the real printer of them.

Lambert Palmart and Fernandez de Cordoba.

The name of Palmart (which perhaps is rather to be spelt Palmaert) suggests a Flemish origin, and we are reminded of one Lambert Laurenszoon, who was some time partner with Antonius Mathias, who has been believed to be Mathaeus Flander.[1] But as Laurenszoon was a native of Delft in the Netherlands, and Palmaert is decidedly a Flemish name, there is no ground for identifying them. He never tells us from what country he came, but he constantly styles himself a German. He assumed the title of "master" in his first productions only; in the later ones, on the contrary, he called himself "humble printer" (*humil empremptador*), though there is amongst them the first edition of the Laws of Valencia, a considerable work, which was entrusted to him by order of the parliament. He had a peculiar form to designate the town of Valencia in the colophons of the books printed by him (*in eadem famosissima civitate*), and as he is, down to 1489, with a single exception, the only printer at that place, I have not hesitated to attribute to him some works in which his name is omitted. The total number of his productions is thus raised to fifteen, of which

[1] Bergmans, Paul. *Un imprimeur belge du XVe siècle—Antonius Mathias.* Bruxelles, 1889. Extr. from *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale de Belgique.* Ser. III. Vol. xviii.

1475. Saragossa. Matthew of Flanders.

five only were known to Herr Volger. In his latter years Palmart seems to have passed into the service of a religious community, and to have died about 1490, this being the date of the last book printed by him.

II. 1475. Press of Matthew of Flanders at Saragossa.

The second printing office in Spain was established at Saragossa. The *Manipulus curatorum*, completed on October 15, 1475, at that place by Matthew of Flanders, is the earliest book executed in Spain with the name of a printer, the productions of Palmart previous to 1477 being anonymous. The little we really know about him has given rise to numerous conjectures and hypotheses. His name never occurs again, and it is only by their general appearance and by the coincidence of date and place that three or four other anonymous works, covering the years from 1478 to 1482, may be attributed to him. There has been some talk—and it has found its way even into the Index to Hain's *Repertorium* by Dr. Burger [1]—of his being identical with Matthew Vendrell, a citizen of Barcelona, at whose expense two books were printed in 1483 and 1484, in Gerona and Barcelona respectively. But there is no ground for this supposition except the disappearance of Matthew of Flanders from Saragossa about the same time that the other Matthew, with a surname that might as well be considered Flemish as Catalan, appears in a locality not far from the home of the former. That Matthew of Flanders was a printer, and Vendrell (as he decidedly declares) was only the publisher at whose expense the books were printed, would not be wholly incompatible facts; but there are reasons of greater weight against identifying them. Matthew Vendrell tells us that in 1484 he was a citizen of Barcelona, and we know that the citizenship of the great centres of commerce, conferring as it did many profitable privileges, was granted to foreigners only after long residence. But

[1] Ludwig Hain's *Repertorium bibliographicum. Register.* Leipzig, 1891. (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. Beiheft. VIII.*) P. 339.

if Matthew of Flanders was printing in Saragossa up to 1482, and in Gerona in 1483, he cannot have made a prolonged stay in Barcelona before 1484, and it is almost impossible that he should have been admitted in that year to the rights of citizenship. I therefore believe that Matthew of Flanders and Matthew Vendrell are two different persons, the one of German origin, printer in Saragossa, the other Catalan by birth (the double "l" at the end of his name is a peculiarity of Catalan spelling), and merchant and citizen of Barcelona. I do not think that he himself printed the books he published, but that they were executed by another Catalan printer, and I will give my reasons for so thinking when describing the work of Peter Posa (pp. 21-23).

Conjectures as to Matthew of Flanders.

Another hypothesis is that of M. Bergmans,[1] who suggests that Matthew of Flanders might be the same person as Anthony Mathias, a native of Antwerp, who, after having introduced, with one "Lambertus quondam Laurentii" of Delft, the art of printing into Genoa in 1471, settled for some time at Mondovi, disappearing from there before 1474, when he seems to have once more passed through Genoa before we finally lose sight of him. There are no chronological difficulties in M. Bergmans' supposition; we might even think that Mathias' former partner Lambert (if identical with Lambert Palmart) invited him to Spain, but real evidence for these suggestions is wholly wanting. I have given (p. 7) reasons for not identifying this Lambert with Palmart; the case of Matthew is very similar. The names Matthaeus and Mathias are not likely to be interchanged; on the contrary, the name of Mathias was well known to Spaniards, and I do not understand why a man who always calls himself Mathias, with the addition of his christian name Antonius, should omit the latter and change his surname when he migrated to Saragossa. The only foundation for these suppositions is the total want of information about Matthew of Flanders, and though I have quoted all the opinions regarding him, I think it prudent not to allow them a weight they scarcely deserve.

[1] *Un imprimeur du XVe siècle—Antonius Mathias.* P. 583, s.

1477. Conjectured press of Teodorico Aleman at Murcia.

Three new printing offices were founded in Spain in the year 1477, and it is very remarkable how the industrial and commercial towns in the east of the Peninsula took the lead and held the supremacy over the west. Two of these offices were established in the eastern parts, and it is only the commercial metropolis of the south-west, the great emporium of Seville, which began to avail itself of the new invention.

We must, however, confess that the existence of one of these offices is not quite certain. M. Clemencin [1] was the first to direct the attention of students to a privilege of Ferdinand and Isabella, dated from Seville, December 25, 1477, in favour of one Teodorico Aleman, *impresor de libros de molde*. Clemencin thought that the royal charter was addressed to the municipality of Murcia, and as the document had been found in the archives of that town, it was believed that Teodorico had exercised or had intended to exercise his art in that place. Not a single book printed by him has been found, neither do we know of any books printed about that time in Murcia without indication of printer's name; but notwithstanding this it has been supposed that Teodorico introduced printing into Murcia, and that the books he printed there have perished. In recent times the question has assumed a new aspect, which is less favourable to the claims of Murcia. Mr. W. J. Knapp, of Yale College, New Haven,[2] has printed the privilege alluded to, after a copy taken from the original in the archives of Murcia, and from this it seems that the royal letter was not addressed to Murcia alone, but was directed to all authorities throughout the kingdom. Thus the only argument remaining in favour of Murcia is the fact of the document having been preserved and discovered in its archives. Moreover, the instrument not only specifies the *printer*, Teodorico,

[1] *Elogio de la reina D. Isabel.* In *Memorias de la R. academia de la historia.* Vol. vi., p. 244.

[2] Cf. *Annales du bibliophile belge.* Vol. i., p. 59, ss.

but it also, and rather more explicitly, speaks of him as *bookseller*, granting to him and his partners many favours and exemptions for his trade. The tenor of the privilege, and the absence of any books printed by Teodorico or in Murcia, makes it dubious whether there was a printing office in this place as early as 1477.

Teodorico Aleman and Thierry Martens.

About the personality of Teodorico Aleman a hypothesis has arisen among the Flemings, who suppose him to be the Flemish printer, Theodoricus Martini.[1] This man, one of the very first printers of Flanders, served his apprenticeship in Venice, and after returning home printed six books in 1473-74 at Alost, his birthplace, four in partnership with John of Westphalia, the others alone. He then ceased printing, and is not met with again till 1487, when he begins once more at Alost a career which is one of the most splendid in the typographical annals of Flanders. In the interval he may well have made his way into Spain. The mercantile relations between Spain and the Netherlands were very active at that time, and young men of the commercial establishments of Bruges, of Antwerp, etc., very often went to the Peninsula to seek their fortune, like Martin Behaim, Jobst Hurter, and others. True, there is no ground for supposing that Thierry Martens took such a journey other than the correspondence of the name Theodoricus and his own temporary disappearance from the Low Countries; but after all there is as much to be said in favour of the identification as against it.

Even if we suppose Thierry Martens to be the Teodorico Aleman (the designation *Aleman* for a native of the Low Countries is quite common, and we shall find some "*Alemanni*" who have much less claim to be so called) the question remains unsolved whether it was at Murcia that he practised, or at some other place. The favourite port for the intercourse between Spain and the Low Countries was Seville, and perhaps it is by no mere accident that the privilege is dated from that place, especially as the art of printing begins to be exercised there in this same year.

[1] Art. *Thierry Martens*, in the *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, by P. Bergmans.

III. 1477. Press of Antonio Martinez, Alonso del Puerto and Bartolomme Segura at Seville.

1477. Spanish printers at Seville.

Mendez,[1] Hazañas,[2] and Escudero[3] were of opinion that the introduction of printing into Seville must be referred to 1476, on the supposition that the edition of the *Sacramental* of Sanchez de Vercial, which bears neither place nor date, is earlier than the two editions of the book executed in 1477 and 1478. The assertion is a rash one, for even if the undated *Sacramental* is anterior to the dated editions, there is no proof that it was executed in Seville; on the contrary, Salvá[4] has at least proved that it is not from the same press as the dated editions, because its typographical characteristics are in many respects different. He supposes that it was executed by Mayer at Tolosa or by Fadrique at Burgos, because the peculiar form of the double *rr* is used in it, which was only employed by a small number of German printers. At all events it is proved that this edition was not executed by the Seville printers, so there is nothing to show that they were at work in 1476. In 1477 they really began printing, but probably not with the *Sacramental.* True, this, like the *Repertorium* of Montalvo, executed in the same year by the same printers, has the often-quoted colophon:

> "Si petis artifices primos quos Ispalis olim
> vidit et ingenio proprio monstrante peritos
> tres fuerunt homines Martini Antonius atque
> de Portu Alfonsus Segura et Bartholomaeus."

But whilst in the *Repertorium* of Montalvo these verses are only followed by the indication of the year 1477, without month and day, in the *Sacramental* there is a note in Spanish following, very much like a translation of the Latin verses, and the book is dated

[1] Second ed., p. 76, No. 7.
[2] *La imprenta en Sevilla.* Sevilla, 1892. P. 70.
[3] *Tipografia Hispalense.* P. 55.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 810.

August 1 of the same year. For these reasons I am induced to give the priority to the *Repertorium* of Montalvo, and I think there can be no doubt that no other book was printed by these typographers previous to these two. I have always wondered that in a place like Seville, where there was a considerable colony of foreigners, and amongst them many Germans, the art of printing should have been introduced by Spaniards. The fact is, the latter did not print more than six works in ten years, and the art made no considerable advance there until it was exercised by some Germans who for more than fifteen years were the only printers at Seville. We shall presently see that even in the six issues of the Spaniards German influences were not wanting. But the fact of the privilege granted to Theodoricus Aleman in 1477 at Seville suggests another supposition. Was it he who came to Seville with the intention of establishing a printing office in the town, but sold his printing materials to the Spaniards when they offered him a good price, reserving for himself the trade of bookseller, which is prominently mentioned in the privilege? We know too little about Theodoricus and about the Spanish printers at Seville to be positive in the matter, but it is a very curious and remarkable coincidence.

Seville, 1482. The *Cronica de España.*

The three Spaniards printed only three works in partnership; then Antonio Martinez disappears, the other two issuing one more book in the year 1480, and Alonso del Puerto by himself one more in 1482. This last (an edition of Diego de Valera's *Cronica de España*, printed by command of Queen Isabella of Castile at the expense of the German Michael Dachauer and the Spaniard Garcia del Castillo, treasurer of the Hermandad in Medina del Campo) is a most remarkable work in the history of printing in Seville. The colophon of this book, addressed to Queen Isabella, reads thus: "There are many things, most illustrious princess, which persuade me that if anything may, by talent or studious labour, be communicated to our contemporaries, and even to those who are to come after us, by brevity, which is the friend of all sound understanding, we should communicate it, so that our age or time, which seems to somewhat envy our ancestors, may not be deluded. Which age

Seville, 1486. Antonio Martinez de la talla de Maestre Pedro.

scarcely yields or need give place to any century of those that were before us; and whilst the chronicle histories of the past, by lapse of time, by wars and other disturbances, seem to be buried and silent, and fruitless, owing to the dearth of originals and copies which has arisen through laziness or want of liberality, now again, most serene princess, endowed with singular understanding, enlightened with every kind of learning, and exercising a clear intelligence, as if sent for our assistance, they come forth with such a marvellous art of writing, that we seem to have returned again to the golden age; replacing us, by multiplication of copies, in the knowledge of the past, the present, and the future, as far as human understanding can attain. And this has been done by the Germans, who are very expert and constant inventors in this art of printing, which indeed may be called divine. Of which Germans is one Michael Dachauer, of marvellous talent and learning, most experienced and of copious memory, known to your highness, at the expense of whom and of Garcia del Castillo . . . the present chronicle in many copies . . . has been printed by Alonso del Puerto . . ."

If we consider that Alonso del Puerto, the printer of this book, is one of those who have boasted of being the first typographers of Seville, this mention of the services that the Germans had rendered through the art of printing, this praise of the German Michael Dachauer as participating in the merits of his countrymen, is very significant, and may suggest that there were really more important German influences in the introduction of printing into Seville than can now be ascertained.

German influence must be acknowledged again in the single issue, executed in 1486, of Antonio Martinez, who was the first to withdraw from the firm of Seville printers. At the end of this book, a religious tract, he styles himself "Antonio Martinez de la talla de maestre Pedro." Mendez[1] thought that the words *de la talla* formed part of the name of Martinez, and so called him Martinez de la Talla. In this case the "de maestre Pedro" might have indicated the father, who would then have been Maestre

[1] Second ed., p. 106.

Pedro Martinez, and "de la Talla" perhaps the maiden name of the mother. But I do not think this is the correct interpretation. Spaniards did not take the title of "maestre" except in imitation of the German printing masters. So the father of our Antonio could scarcely have been a "maestre" Pedro. The construction of "de la talla" with Martinez would not be impossible in Spanish if the words stood alone, but in connection with "de maestre Pedro" I think they have another meaning. "Talla" signifies a piece of carved work, and is nearly if not quite synonymous with *taller*, a word derived from the same root, and meaning a workshop, and also a printer's office. This last interpretation is that which I prefer, and I think the meaning of the sentence is that Antonio Martinez received his training as a printer in the office of one Maestre Pedro, who by his title of "maestre" betrays his German origin. Who among the ancient printers can this Maestre Pedro have been? I once thought that he might have been Pierre Brun, a Savoyard printer, whose wanderings will presently be recorded, because he has sometimes been believed to have executed a work in Seville in 1485. I even thought I had got strong evidence in my favour when the Rev. P. Reichardt[1] announced a book printed in Seville in 1485 by Pierre Brun, Giovanni Gentile, and Antonio Martinez. This book, I supposed, might have been the first edition of the *Nobiliario* by Pedro Mejia, which Gallardo[2] remembered to have seen, though he was not able to give particulars of it. Yet more, I thought perhaps I had met with a copy of it, when I found in the Catalogue of the Columbian Exhibition[3] in Madrid the mention of a copy of the *Nobiliario* without either place or date. But more accurate investigations proved that the supposition was erroneous. Herr Reichardt could not remember whence he took his note, and as I found during these researches that some other of his most striking statements were pure misunder-

Seville, 1486. Maestre Pedro and Pierre Brun.

[1] *Beitraege zur Incunabelnkunde.* (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. Beiheft XIV.*) P. 365.

[2] No. 2991, note.

[3] *Catalogo General de la Exposicion Historico Europea. Sala X.* No. 218.

A Maestre Pedro, printer of a law-book.

standings, I did not dare to rely farther on his testimony. Señor José Leal y Ruiz, Director of the University and Provincial Library of Seville, who had the kindness to answer my inquiry immediately, ascertained that the copy of the *Institute* which had been exhibited in Madrid did not differ in the slightest instance from the well-known *Nobiliario* of 1492, and that the entry in the printed catalogue was a mere blunder. On again examining the colophon of the edition of 1492, a copy of which is in the Dresden Royal Library, I found it almost impossible that there should ever have existed an edition of 1485; for this colophon expressly states that after many years of study and labour the author only finished his manuscript in the last months of the year 1485. For all these reasons I can no longer venture to say with certainty that Maestre Pedro was Pierre Brun, though it is not quite impossible.

There is one other mention of a Maestre Pedro in the annals of early printing in Spain. Among the fifteenth-century books, the classification of which is almost impossible, because they bear no external marks of their origin, is a considerable number of ancient legal works. Being of a technical, rather than literary character, these rarely passed into the libraries, but are to be found among the documents of the judicial and government archives. On account of their legal character great care has been taken about the accuracy of the printing, and the correctness of the printed copies is often attested by a manuscript note of the royal notaries. For the same reason nobody was allowed to reprint these laws without a royal privilege; and these privileges, printed sometimes with the text of the laws, are the only indication we have of their origin. But as privileges were not always granted to printers only, we must not take for granted that the possessors of them were invariably printers. A safe judgment in the matter will only be possible when we can compare the founts with which these law-books were printed with those of the known Spanish printers; a comparison which, owing to the extreme scarcity of all Spanish *incunabula*, especially law-books, has never yet been made. I have myself begun to collect alphabets of the founts of all the Spanish

incunabula and some other early Spanish books, which I have had the good fortune to meet with; two of them are legal, but my collection as yet is not sufficiently complete to enable me to judge even about these.[1]

Maestre Pedro and Pierre Brun.

It is well known that the claim of Madrid to a fifteenth-century printing press was founded on one such law-book, attributed to 1499. It has long since, however, been acknowledged, and has been repeated by the very conscientious historian of Madrid typography, Señor Perez Pastor,[2] that this claim cannot be maintained; for though the laws may have been compiled at Madrid at a time when the court was within its walls, they did not even receive the royal sanction in that town, nor do they seem to have been publicly proclaimed there. As a matter of fact, there is no trace of any printing press in Madrid before the permanent establishment of the court there in 1565. As yet, therefore, we can only register these books amongst those without place, and can only attribute them to the fifteenth century from the internal evidence that they must have been printed for legal purposes immediately after their ratification. Some of them, as before said, contain an indication of the printer in the appended privileges; as, for instance, one, the privilege of which is granted to Fernando de Jaen, though it is evident that he himself was not the printer of it, for he is styled "librero," bookseller, even in the privilege. The same laws were printed again with an analogous privilege in favour of "maestre Pedro, imprimidor de libros de molde." I cannot say if it was only this name of the printer that induced Señor Perez Pastor [3] to assert that one issue of these laws apparently had its origin in Seville; if so, he must have believed that the "maestre Pedro" of Antonio Martinez continued printing in Seville up to the year 1499, a belief which as yet has nothing to confirm it, even if we suppose him to be identical

[1] The laws printed by Maestre Pedro may perhaps have been the work of Peter Hagenbach at Toledo, as the types used in them bear a great similarity to the founts employed by this printer; but as there are some other letters in the laws which I have not yet seen among the founts of Hagenbach, I cannot be positive about it.

[2] *Bibliografia Madrileña.* P. xvii, note 1.

[3] *L. c.*, p. xviii.

Brun and Spindeler at Tortosa, 1477.

with Pierre Brun. It is a curious fact, however, that a "maestre Pedro" occurs repeatedly as printer during the fifteenth century in connection with the city of Seville, and cannot be identified with any other printer or bookseller but Pierre Brun.

IV. 1477. Press of Brun and Spindeler at Tortosa.

This Pierre Brun is one of the early printers to whom I have already alluded, but it was not in Seville that he began his career. In partnership with Nicholas Spindeler he issued a *Perottus* in the little Aragonese town of Tortosa in 1477, and in the following year both partners are to be met with in Barcelona. The Tortosa book is very remarkable from its colophon, which runs thus: "impressum per magistrum Petrum Brun, Gebennis genitum, et magistrum Nicolaum Spindeler de Czuickau, Germanum anno christianae salutis MCCCCLXXVII, die vero XVI. mensis junii." The reading "Czuickau," I confess, is my conjecture; Villanueva,[1] the only scholar who has seen this very rare book, reads "Cruickau," but Herr Volger[2] had previously suggested that Zwickau might be the true reading. Though Pierre Brun, if he was born at Geneva, was a subject of the Duke of Savoy, he is called a German in the colophon of one of the few books he printed in partnership with Nicholas Spindeler. These are only three in number, the Tortosa *Perottus* just mentioned, and the Commentaries of Aquinas on the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, issued at Barcelona, whither the partners removed in 1478. There they soon separated. Brun seems not to have left the town, for only a few years later he reappears in company with a new partner, the Catalan priest, Pedro Posa, one of the earliest and most prolific Spanish printers. Three books were executed by them, and then they too separated, and we lose sight of Pierre Brun. It is not impossible that he remained in Barcelona for some time longer, and continued, though anonymously, in the office of Posa, who in the next year developed an almost

[1] *Viage literario.* Vol. xx., p. 129.

[2] P. 117.

astonishing activity. But as in the following years not only Posa, but all the printers of Barcelona disappeared, we may suppose that Brun left the town too. We do not know what he may have done from 1482 to 1492; the hypothesis of his having printed an edition of Mejia's *Nobiliario* in Seville in 1485 has proved erroneous (p. 15), his having been master to Antonio Martinez is only a supposition; so we do not meet with him again before 1492, when he printed in partnership with Giovanni Gentile the only real edition of the *Nobiliario*, a book which must have been issued in great numbers, because it is one of the most common Spanish *incunabula*. That he prints again in partnership with another makes it probable that he was rather poor—a fact which explains why we hear so little of him. Giovanni Gentile need not necessarily have been a printer himself; members of the Genoese family Gentile repeatedly occur among the Italian merchants trading in Seville; Brun may have had recourse to him owing to want of funds, and on account of pecuniary help he may have added his name in the colophon of the book. Gentile is not mentioned again in any early Spanish book either as printer or publisher. Of Brun we only know that he issued in 1499 (it seems at his own expense) another publication, a romance of the Emperor Vespasian. If he is the Maestre Pedro who about 1500 printed the laws on petty causes, he may have lived for some years more, but as a printer we do not meet with him again, nor can we tell anything more about him.

Brun and Gentile at Seville, 1492.

Little more can be said about Brun's first partner, Nicholas Spindeler. If we are not mistaken in the reading of the colophon of 1477, he came originally from Zwickau in Saxony. This assumption has given rise to an attempt to identify him with one Nicolaus de Saxonia, who printed at Lisbon; but the attempt is not wholly warranted by facts. After separating from Brun, Spindeler remained some time in Barcelona, where he issued three books during the years 1479-1482. Of these the *Manipulus Curatorum* seems to have been printed at his own expense, the others, a *Regiment dels Princeps* and the *Antiguedades* of Josephus, were executed for the booksellers Juan Zacoma and Nandeu Mir. They were both edited by a special

Nicholas Spindeler and Nicolaus de Saxonia.

corrector, the schoolmaster Aleix and the friar Lopis respectively. Spindeler then left Barcelona, and in 1484 issued, though without his name, a single book at Tarragona, another edition of the *Manipulus Curatorum*. From 1490 down to the end of the fifteenth century he is established in Valencia, but must have returned to Barcelona early in the sixteenth century, for he printed two books there in 1501 and 1506. Thus we see that Spindeler was one of those wandering masters of the art who are so typical of the early history of printing, and his career would be still more unsettled if a supposition of Herr Volger[1] were accepted. He is of opinion that from Valencia Spindeler might have made an excursion to Lisbon about 1496, because in the latter city a Nicolaus de Saxonia appears as printer, at first in partnership with the well-known Valentin Fernandez de Moravia, and again independently from 1496 to 1498. Now it cannot be denied that Spindeler, if he was a native of Zwickau in Saxony, may well have called himself Nicolaus de Saxonia; we have an analogy in the case of Christopher Cofman, who only once gives his surname, calling himself Christophorus de Basilea in the majority of his productions. But Herr Volger has not paid attention to a note of Mendez,[2] who (on second-hand reference indeed) quotes an edition of the Letters of Franciscus Aretinus, which Spindeler is said to have printed at Valencia in 1496. This quotation is corroborated by Señor Toda,[3] who discovered in the library of the University of Cagliari an edition of the Letters of Phalaris translated by Franciscus Aretinus and printed by Spindeler in 1496. A second copy of this extremely rare book has since been found in the University Library of Goettingen, and by the kindness of the director, Herr Dziatzko, I have been enabled to study it at leisure. We must therefore acknowledge that the Letters of Phalaris were actually printed twice at Valencia in 1496, not only by Lope de la Roca, but again by Nicholas Spindeler; and as the latter was thus working in Valencia at this time he cannot be identical with Nicolaus de Saxonia, who printed in Lisbon from 1495 to 1498.

[1] P. 103.

[2] Second ed., p. 44, No. 33.

[3] *Bibliografia española de Cerdeña.* Madrid, 1890. P. 58.

As far as I know, Spindeler printed three books in partnership with Pierre Brun and fourteen independently; of these two bear no date, but they were probably executed before 1500, as the only known copies are bound up with other fifteenth-century publications. Two others were printed in the sixteenth century.[1]

Pedro Posa.

Brun's second partner was Pedro, or, as he is called in Catalan, Pere Posa. He was a priest, and styles himself *varon venerable*, and *presbyterus* or *prevere Catala*. He is not the only instance of a clerical printer in Spain. There are at least two others, the German Heinrich Botel in Lerida, and another Catalan, Mossen Baltesar Anella in Gerona.

Of Pedro Posa and his work we know but little. In the first year after his separation from Brun he develops a rather astonishing activity, issuing in 1482 six works. They are all excessively rare, so rare that even the existence of some of them has been doubted. For this reason they have not yet been fully described, though they are quoted by good authorities. After 1482 Posa disappears for a considerable time.

It is curious that there exists only one book printed at Barcelona between the end of 1482 and 1488, and the printer of this is not named, though he is said to have been employed by Matthew Vendrell. There were neither epidemics nor great political revolutions at Barcelona during that period to account for this sudden cessation of printing, which is all the more remarkable as both before and after it there were several presses in operation in that city. It was Pedro Posa who printed the last book before this interruption, and he is the

[1] Though I do not think that Nicolaus de Saxonia of Lisbon is identical with Nicholas Spindeler, yet for the sake of comparison I will here mention the works printed by him. His first production is the *Vita Christi* by Ludolfus de Saxonia, a bulky work consisting of four volumes in folio, executed between August 14, 1495, and May 14 of the next year, in conjunction with Valentin Fernandez de Moravia. We cannot precisely say whether Nicholas alone executed two or three other books. Hain mentions two editions of a *Missale Bracarense* issued by him, but as they have not yet been described accurately, and both bear the date of June 20, though of different years, there may be a mistake in Hain's statement. What became of him afterwards we are not able to say.

Pedro Posa. only printer in Barcelona for the three years immediately after it. I think therefore he was most likely the printer of the book executed in 1484 at Barcelona at the expense of Matthew Vendrell. Was he the printer of the book executed for Vendrell in 1483 at Gerona? We might believe so, if we ascribe to him the Barcelona book. But it is not without some doubt. Though in Gerona there was no printing office throughout the sixteenth century, there were three books printed there from 1483 to 1501 by three different persons. The first is the *Memorial del peccador Remut* "a despeses de" Matthew Vendrell; the second a *Flors de virtuts* printed by an Asturian, Juan de Valdes, and dated November 9, 1497; the third the *Cobles* of Estrus, executed by "Mossen Baltesar Anella prevere," October 13, 1501. These printers are not met with again, so that we cannot conjecture anything about them; but the fact of their existence in the locality makes us doubt whether we should attribute the Vendrell book to Posa, or not.

The second period of Posa's activity covers the years 1488 to 1491, or, if we pass over an interval during 1492 and 1493, down to the year 1501. During this period he is said to have published thirteen books, all of them scarcely less rare than those of 1482. And even this is not the end of his work; besides some undated publications, which must be attributed to the last years of his printing, there are two more, finished respectively July 3 and September 28, 1518. These indeed are the last vestiges of Pedro Posa that until now have been found; but there may be others not yet discovered, for Mendez[1] quotes a book printed by Posa in 1504, which neither Herr Volger nor I have been able to meet with.

The latest productions of Posa, including two of the undated, have the peculiarity of bearing a printer's mark: a pelican feeding her young with the blood from her own breast. This mark has given rise to much dispute, and I must confess that I am not able to explain all the circumstances connected with it. It first occurs in a book where the name of Posa is not mentioned, viz., in the edition of the romance of Tirant lo Blanc, begun by Peter Michael and

[1] Second ed., p. 58.

completed by Diego de Gumiel at Barcelona in 1497, September 16. For this reason the mark has been attributed by some scholars to Michael, by others to Gumiel.[1] Michael, however, used another mark in his preceding publications, and Gumiel another in the books he printed afterwards, whilst Posa is the only printer who has used it again in different productions which bear his name. I do not venture upon any conclusion as to the early owners of the mark; the several interruptions in the printing career of Posa suggest by themselves some connection with other offices to fill up the time of his inactivity, but at present we know too little about the matter to hazard an opinion which might be contradicted by a new discovery. I cannot do more than state the fact that the mark which later on is undoubtedly that of Posa, is to be found some years earlier in a book which seems wholly unconnected with his office. Pedro Posa.

Pedro Posa is one of the most productive native typographers of the Peninsula. He printed nine books (including those executed with Pierre Brun) during his first period of activity, thirteen others during the second, and probably five books later on in the sixteenth century. If we further credit him with the books issued by Matthew Vendrell, the number mounts up to twenty-eight, of which twenty-one belong to the age of *incunabula*. Posa thus holds the first place among native Spanish printers of the fifteenth century, and his total work is only exceeded by Brocar, who, however, if we reckon *incunabula* only, must be ranked below him.

V. 1479. Press of H. Botel at Lerida.

No new printing office was established in 1478, but in 1479 we meet with another German printer in the Catalonian town of Lerida. Like Nicholas Spindeler, Heinrich Botel was a native of Saxony, and he is conspicuous by his passion for adorning himself with flattering epithets. As he styles himself *venerable maestre*, we

[1] Cf. Gallardo, No. 1016, and Volger, p. 97.

Leonhard Hutz at Valencia, Salamanca, and Saragossa.

might have supposed that he was a clergyman, even if we had not found an unknown work, executed by Botel, in which he is described as *presbyter*. He is also called *vir eruditus* and *dominus*; it seems, therefore, that he was no common person. His name does not appear in all of the Lerida books printed during his lifetime, but as he is the only printer of that town, and as it is not until 1568 that another printing office was established in the locality, I have not hesitated to attribute to him all the books printed there during the fifteenth century. The last of these is dated 1495, but we do not know if Botel died or if he only ceased printing then. My list of books printed by Botel numbers eleven titles; one more is vaguely hinted at by Herr Reichardt,[1] but without proof.

VI. 1481. Presses at Salamanca.

By 1481 a printing press had been established at Salamanca, the first book printed there—an edition of the *Introductiones latinae* of Nebrissensis—being dated January 16th. It bears no printer's name, this being also the case with most of the forty-eight books issued at Salamanca up to 1500. In three books only are the printers' names given; two of these are executed by Leonhard Hutz in conjunction with Lupus Sanz, the third bears the name of Juan de Porras, but none of these can have executed the earliest books printed at Salamanca. Porras will be spoken of with the printers of the year 1500, but I must say a few words about the two former. With Leonhard Hutz we shall meet again at Valencia, where he practised in 1493 with Peter Hagenbach, from whom he must have soon separated, for his Salamanca productions bear the date of 1496. Spaniards have repeatedly called him Butz, confounding the letters B and H, which in ancient Gothic characters often present a great similarity, and there are other names where B, G, and H are interchanged. That his real name was Hutz is proved by the mark he used in his latest productions, issued, like his first attempts in the art of printing, at Valencia. He, too, is one

[1] *L. c.*, p. 245. Lerida, 1484.

of those wandering craftsmen of whom we have already met some examples. From Valencia he migrated to Salamanca; from thence after a few years to Saragossa, where, however, he cannot have remained long, for he was again at work in Valencia as early as 1505. At all these places he appears in company with others, with Hagenbach at Valencia, with Sanz in Salamanca, with Coci and Appentegger at Saragossa. Herr Volger[1] suggests that two of these companions may be identical, viz., Lupus Sanz and Wolf Appentegger, but I think this is certainly a mistake. Indeed there is no more foundation for the supposition than the Christian names of the partners, Wolf being much the same as Lope or Lupus. But whilst Wolf Appentegger assures us that he is a Swiss, as we might have concluded from the form of his name even without this information, Lupus Sanz was a native of Navarra, as he expressly states, and, moreover, a clergyman (*frater*), which does not seem to have been the case with Appentegger. For these reasons I think it is evident that the two "Lupus" are two different persons. Although a larger number of the anonymous Salamanca books in Gothic character, issued about 1496, may have been executed by Hutz and Sanz, no proof of this has hitherto been found, and I prefer to attribute to them only the two books bearing their names, leaving to a future comparison the decision which of the anonymous issues may be theirs.

Printing introduced into Salamanca by Nebrissensis.

Among the anonymous Salamanca books there is one group which can be separated from the rest, being printed in Roman characters, whilst all the others are in the more usual Gothic type. At least seven books belong to this group, the first being dated July 15th, 1491. There exist other works printed at Salamanca in Roman type, with dates subsequent to 1500, but none of them have any printer's name.

The only thing we can venture to assert positively about the introduction of printing into Salamanca is that it was due to Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, the famous orator, grammarian, and historiographer. It is possible that he may have been acquainted with the

[1] *L. c.*, p. 111.

Printing introduced into Salamanca by Nebrissensis.

first productions of the press in Italy before he was recalled to Spain by Bishop Fonseca in 1473. It must be confessed that some time elapsed before the art found its way to Salamanca, but that it was Antonio who brought it cannot be doubted, for the first two books published there were two editions of his *Introductiones latinae*. In the production of these and many other works, both by himself and by other writers, he manifested the greatest interest, and I believe he either superintended the press or had it in his own house. There is a certain religious tract entitled *Enseñamiento del Corazon*, printed at Salamanca July 30th, 1498, which has a very curious and unique printer's mark. It has never been reproduced in entirety, but part of it was repeated in a remarkable manner by Sancho de Lebrixa, the son of Aelius Antonius, when he established a press in his house at Granada, with the object of securing to himself the whole profit of the privileges profusely conceded to the descendants of Aelius Antonius, in consideration of the latter's great merits. The portion of the mark which I allude to is an object in form of the letter Y, which in the above-mentioned work, dated 1498, was thought by Gallardo,[1] when he first described the book, to be the initial or mark of the printer. I do not think it to be an initial or a letter at all, but rather a printer's instrument of common use in those days, as can be seen in a mark of the Ascensian Office at Paris,[2] representing a printer's shop. This shows to the right of the press itself two instruments, viz., the compasses, repeatedly used, as is well known, as printers' marks, and the Y-shaped instrument, which I believe to be represented in the ancient Salamanca mark. Now I have found that the works executed with the utmost accuracy and splendour from 1533 to 1552, and bearing the words *apud inclytam Granatam*, are due to Sancho (or Xanthus, as he translates it) Nebrissensis, who gives the reasons for his practising as a printer in the preface to the first

[1] *L. c.*, No. 606.

[2] The mark is to be found, *e.g.*, in Henricus a Gandavo, *Summae quaestionum ordinariarum*, tom. i.-ii. (Paris), 1520, fol. The same instrument in the form of the letter is used as printer's mark by Stephanus Valerius in *Vanderanus, Pet. Prochiron s. enchiridion iudiciarium.* Lovanii, 1558.

edition of his father's Latin history of Ferdinand and Isabella, dedicated to Prince Philip of Castile in 1545, and dated *ex officina nostra literaria apud inclytam Granatam.* In this and in other works issued by the same press the same Y device—in a more letter-like shape indeed—always appears in the ornamentation of the title, and also occupies the centre of the printer's mark with the motto, *Arcta est via quae ducit ad vitam*, which motto is sometimes repeated in the title decoration. If this Y, which appears in 1498 and in the Granada books, is really the mark of the Nebrissenses, it is extremely probable that it has a similar signification in both, and that the Salamanca tract must have been in some way connected with that family.

Nebrissensis the first author to claim copyright in Spain.

There is another interesting point in the history of the works of Antonius Nebrissensis. I am convinced that he was one of the first authors who made use of copyright in Spain. After 1510 it is very common for Spanish printed books to bear the words *Cum privilegio*, with the frequent addition of *ne quis alius excudat*, etc. Printing privileges seem to have been granted many years previously, the first book where I have found one mentioned being the *Cura de la piedra*, printed by Peter Hagenbach at Toledo, April 4th, 1498. Perhaps in this case it was Melchior de Gurrizo, at whose expense the book was issued, who first in Spain took advantage of an institution he had known in his native land; for it was in Italy, especially in Venice, that printing privileges were first of all granted. In later times it was very common for the promoters of printed books to be in possession of privileges, and in Cuença we even meet with a silversmith, *platero*, Antonio de Alfaro, who seems to have made a business of the acquisition of printing privileges. But the first *author* who took advantage of such privilege seems to have been Antonius Nebrissensis, all the early editions of whose works were issued *cum privilegio*. I am led to believe that the privilege belonged to himself, and not merely to the printer, by the tenour of the privileges granted to his heirs, and by the fact of his always taking so active a part in the issue of every new edition.

VII. 1482. Press of A. de Centenera at Zamora.

Antonio de Centenera.

In the year 1482 a new printing office was established in the western part of Castile at Zamora. Its owner, Antonio de Centenera, is the counterpart to the boastful craftsman I have already alluded to, and in the colophons of his productions (if colophons they can be called) he sometimes omits every mention of place, date, and origin; sometimes he merely gives his name, whilst some books have been attributed to him by inference only, and these I hesitate to accept as certainly due to him. Among the most curious of his productions is the *Cuaderno de alcabalas* of 1486. It is a legal work, and does not expressly state that it was printed by him. But there is a fact which makes this very probable. As in other instances, a very careful scrutiny was made of the correctness of the text of these laws, and the notary had, as he was obliged to do, called some witnesses for this purpose. These witnesses were Antonio de Centenera and four other printers: Cristoval Rodriguez de Laguna, Alonso de Sevilla, Francisco Arias de Ciudad Rodrigo, and Juan de Paredes, all of them inhabitants of Zamora. I think this will seem sufficient reason for attributing to Centenera the printing of these laws also. Another remarkable production of the same printer is the Latin grammar by Antonius Nebrissensis in Latin and Castilian, printed by order of Queen Isabella of Castile. This edition has no date, but we can assert that it was executed before 1494, for Nebrissensis, in the preface to his Latin and Spanish Dictionary, published in this or the following year, enumerates his literary productions, mentioning the *Introducciones* in Spanish as having been previously issued. The last biographer of Centenera, Señor Fernandez Duro,[1] assumes that he was still alive in 1517, only for the reason that with the *Teoduli liber* is printed a poem by Cristoval de Paradinas, who was teaching grammar in Zamora about 1517. Possibly, however, this is merely an inadvertent error

[1] *Coleccion bibliografico-biografica de noticias referentes á la provincia de Zamora.* Madrid, 1891. P. 301.

on the part of Señor Duro, for in the biographical part of his work he only mentions one Cristoval de Paradinas, who lived about 1260.[1] At all events, he had at hand the proof of his supposition being erroneous, and he himself said that the date of the book might be elucidated from the colophon in verse, which reads thus: Antonio de Centenera.

Altas cum capri descendit delius arces
Ordine signorum binos post fecerat orbes
Espulit hesperia christi fernandus amator
Vipereum genus invisum gentemque malignam
Peragit urbe libellum Centenera zamore.

Well, the year when King Ferdinand, the "lover of Christ," expelled the hated race of the Moslem from Hesperia can be no other than the year 1492, when the last Moorish stronghold of Granada was conquered by the united efforts of Castile and Aragon. The date of 1492 is much the more probable, for though it is the latest at which Centenera is mentioned, the interval between it and his last dated book, the *Libro de los evangelios* of 1490, is inconsiderable, whereas in 1517 there would have been a gap of no less than twenty-seven years! Centenera's office was not continued after his death; Zamora remained without a press for a long period, and it was not until 1536 and the following years that some wandering printers came and spent a couple of years there.

"1484." Press of Cristobal de Basilea at Valencia.

I had chosen this point to insert a notice of the productions of Christopher Cofman,[2] or Cristobal de Basilea, on the authority of the statement made by Fuster[3] and Salvá,[4] that he finished printing a *Vida de S. Catherina de Sena* at Valencia on May 11, 1484. I find, however, at the last moment (see Bibliography) that the book really belongs to 1499. Cofman was a native of Basel, as he tells us

[1] *Coleccion*, p. 248.
[2] It has been suggested that Cofman may represent the German *Kaufmann*.
[3] *Biblioteca Valenciana*, vol. i., p. 49. [4] Vol. ii., p. 760, No. 3834, note.

1484-85. C. Cofman de Basilea. N. Calafat. Lope de la Roca.

in the colophon of the *Cancionero General* of 1511; but he always calls himself a German, and he could do so, for Basel down to this time formed part of the German empire, as one of its free towns. Of six of Cofman's productions three belong to the period of *incunabula;* his latest issue is the *Cancionero* of 1511 just mentioned. That he printed in Salamanca, as Herr Reichardt[1] states, is not at all credible.

VIII. 1485. Press of Nicolas Calafat at Mallorca.

The year 1485 saw no less than four new printing offices established in different places in Spanish territory. One of them indeed was very shortlived. In 1485 and 1487 Nicolas Calafat printed two books in the island of Mallorca, which, strangely enough, were the only ones produced there for more than half a century. Both are of a religious character. The first, the *Tractatus de regulis mandatorum* of Gerson, was printed at the expense of one Bartholomew Caldentejus, who plays a considerable part in the history of the so-called University of Mallorca. The other, the *Vers* of Prats, seems to have been executed at the expense of Calafat himself, and completed in the monastery of the Trinity at Miramar in Val de Mussa. Calafat, who styles himself *ingeniosus* and *maestre*, tells us that he was a native of Val de Mussa, but we know nothing more about him. He cannot have lived, or at all events printed, for long; as when the University of Mallorca wished to print some of Raymond Lully's works in 1515, it was not Calafat to whom the order was given, but Diego de Gumiel and Juan Joffré, both at Valencia.

IX. 1485. Press of Lope de la Roca at Valencia.

Another office was established in 1485 at Valencia by Lope de la Roca. He tells us repeatedly that he was a German,[2] which

[1] *Beitraege zur Incunabelnkunde*, p. 363.

[2] From 1495 Lope de la Roca employed a printer's mark of the simplest form. In this his initials, L R, are printed in white on a black background, surrounded by a

we should not suppose from the form of his name, any more than we should in the case of Valentin Fernandez or Hermanno de Campos. I do not know the authority on which different writers rely when they assert that his full German name was Johann Wolfgang von Stein. It is only by mistake that Hain[1] states that the *Copilacion de las Batallas*, by Rodriguez de Almella, was printed by Juan de la Roca, and Lope only gives the Spanish form of his name as quoted above. Herr Volger[2] has doubted the assertion of Mendez,[3] that Roca completed the life of Saint Honorat on Dec. 9, 1485, because he had himself seen the edition of the same work of 1495. Had he studied more carefully the notice of Mendez he would have seen that he too doubted the existence of two different editions dated 1485 and 1495 respectively. But Mendez has proved the existence of the 1485 edition by actual inspection, whereas Volger was only induced to doubt it by the fact that Roca is found in 1487 at Murcia, where he printed three books in that year and then disappeared. In 1495 he is again in Valencia, and prints seven books in three years. Lope de la Roca twice worked in partnership with others, but I do not believe that these partners were themselves printers. The first Murcia book of 1487 was executed by Roca in conjunction with Gabriel Luis de Arinyo, whose name never occurs again as a printer's, either singly or with that of Roca. But we meet with it in the celebrated *Furs de Valencia*, printed in that city by Lambert Palmart in 1482. In this work Arinyo is styled *veinticuatro* (member of council) of Valencia, and it is he who transmits to Palmart the order of the Cortes respecting the publication of the laws of the realm. This is significant of the high esteem in which the first printers were held by the Spaniards, but it is not credible that a man of such social position as Arinyo should himself have managed a press. I think, therefore, that he must not be reckoned among the printers.

Lope de la Roca at Valencia, Murcia, and again at Valencia.

circle from which emerges an obliquely barred cross. The upper corners of the rectangle which forms the mark are filled up with ornaments; the lower contain the word *Ala-man*.

[1] Vol. i., 1, p. 93, No. 864. [2] P. 120. [3] Second ed., p. 36, No. 13.

Lope de la Roca and the Trinchers.

The case of Roca's second partner is less evident. The book of chess by Francis Vicent was printed in 1495 *per mans de Lope de Roca Alemany e Pere trincher librere*, i.e. by Roca and Peter Trincher, bookseller. This seems to indicate that Trincher was the publisher and Roca the printer. There is another book, printed at Valencia in 1498 by Pere Tringer[1] alone, but even in the colophon of this he styles himself *librere*, bookseller. As Lope de la Roca ceased to print in October, 1497, and this book was finished February 3, 1498, I think it is not too rash to suppose that Roca died late in 1497, and that Trincher had the work finished and published with his own name only, surviving for no long time after. He is not mentioned again, but about the family of the Trinchers and some other of its members we know something more, though it is not at Valencia that we meet with them, but in the Catalan capital, Barcelona. Though Peter Trincher published his two books in a Valencian office, it does not necessarily follow that he himself was an inhabitant of Valencia, there being plenty of instances of booksellers publishing in towns where they did not themselves reside. He may have been an inhabitant of Barcelona, where we find others of his name. In 1499 Johann Trincher appears as a merchant established in Barcelona, trading in books and paper and other printing materials. This we learn by the contracts between Johann Luschner, another German printer of the town, of whom particulars will presently be given, and the famous monastery of Montserrat. In these contracts it is stipulated that one half of the paper necessary for the execution of the works which Luschner was to produce by order of the superiors of the monastery, was to be purchased from Franz Ferber and Johann Trincher, two German merchants established in Barcelona, and the other half from the Spaniards, Mosen Aguilar and Pedro Camps. We meet with Johann again in 1512, when a Spanish book of arithmetic is printed at his order by Nicholas de Benedictis at Lyons. In this he is styled *librero de Barcelona*, so no doubt he is the same person. It is not until 1546 that

[1] The spelling of this name varies in the books themselves.

Jonot Trinxer is again mentioned. This form of the name is a Catalan version of Juan Trincher, and as he is again styled *mercader de libros* and citizen of Barcelona, we may suppose that the same person is alluded to. The book, from which this detail is taken, is the *Chronicle of the Kings of Aragon*, composed by Miguel Carbonell, and printed by Charles Amoros, at the expense of "Mossen Jaume Manescal y Mossen Raphael Deuder mayor, y Mossen Jonot Gordiola y mossen Jonot Trinxer . . . ciutadans de . . . Barcelona." The last mention of a member of the Trincher family I have found hitherto is that of Franz Trincher, who published at Barcelona in conjunction with Pedro Malo, a well-known printer of that town, an edition of the *Siete sabios de Roma* in 1583. It is not impossible that there were three generations of Trinchers, Peter being the father, Johann the son, and Franz the grandson. The Trinchers.

X. 1485. Press of F. de Basilea at Burgos.

Another office, and a very celebrated one, which began work in 1485, is that of Friedrich (in Castilian, Fadrique) of Basel. He was established at Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, and was at work there during more than thirty years. I have found thirty-five books printed by him from 1485 to 1517, and there are probably many more. Our knowledge of books printed in the sixteenth century is still so defective that a good deal of Friedrich's later work may have escaped attention.

There can scarcely be any doubt that his German surname was Biel, and that he is the same person who printed about 1470 in partnership with Michael Wensler the *Liber Epistolarum* by Gasparinus Pergamensis, one of the first books printed in Basel. Both partners seem to have been unfortunate in their own country. Wensler became bankrupt at Basel about 1490, and migrated to the south of France, where he is met with in various places. I am inclined to think that Friedrich, after the production of their joint work, remained some years longer in Basel, entering another printing office after his separation from Wensler. I am confirmed in this supposition

Fadrique de Basilea (Friedrich Biel).

by the peculiarities of one of Friedrich's marks. He is one of the first printers of Spain who used a mark, his earliest being found in the *Suma confessionis* by Antoninus of Florence, dated Burgos, 1492. This is of considerable beauty, representing a lion holding in its left paw a standard bearing the arms of Basel, whilst with its right it supports an escutcheon with the cross-shaped four, and in its lower part the initials F. B., which may stand either for Friedrich Biel or Friedrich of Basel. This mark he seems to have employed in different sizes and with some slight variations; but it is not this which supports my opinion about his printing in Basel. He sometimes used another, especially in his later books, which is almost identical with that of two well-known printers of Basel. It is formed by a black rectangle in the middle of which is a very roughly-drawn head of a lion—it looks rather like that of an ape sometimes—over an escutcheon with the same cross-shaped sign, bearing, however, not the initials F. B., but F. A. (Fadrique Aleman), and below the words *de Basilea*. The upper part of the mark is filled by a scroll, with the motto: *Nihil sine causa*, which was also used by the famous printer of Basel, Johann Bergman de Olpe. The mark, too, is his, the only variation being that the escutcheon bears the letters J. B., and the subscription de Olpe, whereas Friedrich's mark reads F. A. de Basilea.[1] It is to be noted that the same design, only with different letters, was used by Michael Furter,[2] another Basel printer of the same period. After 1492 Friedrich rarely omitted to append his mark to his productions, and several that have no colophon can only be attributed to him from the fact of one of his marks being found at the end.

Friedrich Biel was a remarkable craftsman; his books are conspicuous by the beauty of the founts, the excellence of the paper, and the correctness of the impression. In his earliest issues the curious sign for the sharp or double *rr*, which the Spanish bibliographers have called *r perruña*, is sometimes employed. He not

[1] Heitz, P. *Bernoulli, C. Chr. Basler Büchermarken bis zum Anfang des 17 Jahrhunderts.* (Strassburg, 1895.) Pl. 17, No. 22.

[2] *Ib.*, Pl. 15, No. 16.

only used founts of different size in the text at a very early period, but is one of the few printers in Spain who employed Roman type for the composition of whole books, the overwhelming majority being printed entirely in Gothic type. He is almost invariably both printer and publisher of the books he issues, and these are not only of a religious, legal, or practical character, but also romantic, as the *Amores de Arnalte y Lucenda*, the *Carcel de amor*, and the very first edition of the famous comedy of *Celestina*. Of Friedrich's thirty-six books four bear no date, but, judging by their contents, they were probably printed before 1500; twenty belong doubtless to the period of *incunabula*, and twelve only are dated after 1500. I have not discovered any books printed by him between 1502 and 1510, but, as I have said, this may be attributed to the want of references. Among Friedrich's later productions is the Spanish translation of Dante's *Inferno* by Pedro Fernandez de Villegas, completed by him April 2, 1515. Two other curious books must be mentioned amongst these later issues, both published in connection with Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis. The first is a collection of various short treatises of that celebrated grammarian on subjects of classical antiquity, and bears the curious remark: *Antonius Nebrissensis chronographus regius dum Burgis in curia desidet ociosus dispunxit & interpunxit atque pro virili ex inemendato exemplari castigavit et imprimi curavit.* The other is the third issue—first of the second and improved edition—of the Dictionary of the same author. This was made at the expense of Arnaldo Guillermo de Brocar, himself a famous printer, who seems to have been in possession of the privilege for the book, but it is executed by Friedrich, though it does not bear his printer's mark, but that of the publisher, Brocar; one of the rare instances where a publisher's mark is employed in ancient Spanish books.

Fadrique de Basilea.

XI. 1485. Press of Paul Hurus at Saragossa.

The fourth and last printing office of 1485 is that of Paul Hurus at Saragossa. As in the case of Lope de la Roca, the date of 1485

Paul Hurus. has been contested, but I believe without cause. In order of time I should have mentioned it first, because its earliest issue is dated February 20, 1485. I have kept it to the last because Herr Volger[1] is positive that this book must be referred to 1495. It is not from the words of the text that he is able to prove his assertion, for it is certain from the colophon that the work (a translation of the Gospels and Epistles by Gonzalez Garcia de Santa Maria) was finished in manuscript December 24, 1484, and in print February 20, 1485. Volger may have suspected an error in the figures, which frequently happens in early-printed books, and as Paul Hurus does not reappear until 1491, whilst during the four preceding years a printer of similar name, Johann Hurus, was at work in Saragossa, he did not credit the statements of Mendez and Caballero, on whose authority alone the assertion was supported. Gallardo, however, has since given a new and more accurate collation of the book, and the fact of its having been printed in 1485 can no longer be doubted. Another book printed by Paul Hurus in 1485 has recently been discovered, but only a meagre description of it has hitherto been given. I incline to accept it, however, as it is a book of which no other edition is known to have been printed during the fifteenth century with which it might be confounded. Señor Borao,[2] in a slight sketch of the history of printing in Saragossa, mentions a *Missale Cesaraugustanum*, composed by the famous inquisitor, Pedro de Arbues, by order of the Archbishop of Saragossa, D. Alonso de Aragon, natural son of King Ferdinand, and printed by Paul Hurus in 1485. In face of this double evidence even Herr Volger himself would not have maintained his doubts, and we must try to explain for what reasons Paul Hurus may during some years have left to another the direction of the printing office which he had just established in Saragossa. As after a few years it was again in his hands, we may be sure that his office and that of Johann Hurus were one and the same, and that the two men were related. I suppose Paul to have been the son or younger

[1] P. 122.

[2] *La imprenta en Zaragoza* (Zaragoza, 1860), p. 22.

brother of Johann, and to have been the first to come to Saragossa in quest of a means of subsistence. Finding matters favourable for the establishment of a printing office, he at once started one. Then the elder Hurus followed and assumed the direction of affairs, an arrangement in which the younger readily acquiesced, as he was sure of again becoming sole possessor, as indeed happened only a few years later. J. and P. Hurus.

The Hurus office is remarkable not only from the fact that we can trace its history for more than three quarters of a century, but especially for the splendid works it produced under the direction of the different craftsmen who managed it. Johann and Paul Hurus must have already commanded considerable resources, for from the very beginning they were publishers as well as printers, and many of their books were richly adorned with woodcuts, so that their work is scarcely less interesting from the point of view of the artist than from that of the bibliographer. The most renowned of these illustrated books is the edition of the *Officia quotidiana* of 1500, which contains some fifty woodcuts and more than one thousand magnificent initial letters. The copy printed on vellum and illuminated, which was in possession of Don José Sancho Rayon when Hidalgo [1] wrote his enthusiastic description of it, is one of the finest specimens executed at any time and at any place in the world, and reminds us of the beautiful illuminations of mediæval manuscripts. Besides possessing artistic tastes, Paul Hurus was a man of literary ability. The Journey of Breidenbach to the Holy Land is not the only book which was translated into Castilian at his instigation ; and when Martinez Dampies delivered the manuscript of his *Libro del Antichristo* to Hurus to have it printed by him, he dedicated it with many praises to the famous publisher. Another proof of the excellence of his press is that he was able to attract to it some other German printers, for example, Leonhard Hutz, who had before worked independently. Moreover, no rival press was started in Saragossa, either in Hurus' lifetime or for the many years

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia*, 2nd ed., p. 338.

J. and P. Hurus.

during which his work was worthily continued by Georg Coci. It was not until 1528 that a second printing press was established there, so that all the books printed at Saragossa before that date without name of printer may fairly be attributed to the Hurus office. The total number of its productions is very considerable; including three books printed with the name of Johann Hurus, and some others that bear no name at all, it amounts to thirty-five, of which only fifteen were known to Herr Volger. All these books were issued before 1500, for in that year the management changes, Paul Hurus having died or retired. The Hurus are the earliest printers to use a mark; Johann already possessed one in 1489, and this continued in use, with some modifications, for a long while. Its simplest form is that of an oblong rectangle, with a white cross on a black ground; at the base of the cross two triangles are attached, containing the initials *h h*, *i.e.*, Hans Hurus. In all the marks of Paul Hurus the cross with the triangles is preserved, though there are no initials. On the other hand, the surroundings of the mark are considerably amplified by the second owner, who used three different forms of it. The simplest form, as employed in the Ethics of Aristotle, 1492, shows the cross with the triangles as in Johann's mark, but without his initials, surrounded by a scroll, which seems to be suspended by a knot in its upper part, and bears the device: *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua.* Slight ornaments fill the corners of the rectangle which encloses the whole of the mark. The second mark is developed from the first by more artistic ornaments in the corners, and by the figures of two contending lions at the foot. Here a second device is sometimes added below the mark, as in the *De quatuor novissimis*, by Garcia de Santa Maria, of 1494. It is only in the largest mark (this being of the second form), as used in the *Viaje de la tierra sancta* by Breidenbach, printed in 1498, that the figures of St. Roch and St. Sebastian in their conventional positions are added, at the side an ornamental border surrounding the composition. It is partly by the continuance of these marks that we are able to follow the fate of the press. Owing to the fact that the second mark is found in a book

printed in 1500 by Georg Coci, Leonhard Hutz, and Wulf Appentegger, Senor Hidalgo[1] was led into the error of supposing that the mark did not belong to Hurus at all, but was that of these three partners. If he had more accurately discriminated the use of these marks, he would not have failed to observe the connection which really exists between the Hurus press and that of the partners of Georg Coci. Hurus suddenly disappears after having published his last book in 1499, and the following year brings three new productions of the Saragossa press. Two of these were executed by the three German printers just named; they prove by the type used, by the woodcuts interspersed in the text, and last, not least, by the printer's mark, that they issued from the printing office established by the Hurus, though not while it was under their direction. The colophon, which reads: *impresse in insigne civitate Cesaraugustana per discretos et peritos viros ac fideles socios*, etc., has been ridiculed because the "loyal partners" issued no more than two books in 1500, and must have soon separated; but it may be that the separation did not happen so suddenly as appears. As I have already said, there was no second printing office at Saragossa about this time, but there are four books executed there without indication of printer's name in the years 1500 to 1506, and it is only at the last-mentioned date that Coci begins practising. During these years the partners may have continued printing together, until arrangements were agreed upon for their separation. That something like this must have taken place may be concluded from the fact that about the same time, when Coci begins working alone in Saragossa, Leonhard Hutz is to be met with by himself in Valencia. Probably all three had been partners of Paul Hurus, and jointly inherited the press on his death. Coci, who was the most prominent and most active among them, as his future career proves, doubtless purchased Leonhard Hutz's share in the business, whilst Appentegger may have joined either of them as junior partner. By this arrangement Hutz at length gained the means of establishing an in-

The successors of P. Hurus—Coci, Hutz, and Appentegger.

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia*, 2nd ed., p. 338.

Georg Coci. dependent press for himself. For this purpose he returned to the place where under less favourable circumstances he had begun his career, as will be presently reported, namely, to Valencia, which for many years to come was a centre of printing activity. At present we do not know of more than two books printed by him, but even these betray his connection with the Hurus press by the similarity of the printer's mark which he adopted. It is a design that repeats some of the features of the earliest of Paul Hurus' marks. The scroll surrounding the initials L. H., placed at the sides of an oblique printer's cross, which emerges from a heart-shaped figure, is the same that is employed in the ancient Hurus mark, only Hutz has omitted the space between the borders in which Hurus put his motto. The ornaments filling the corners of the quadrangle of the Hutz mark are somewhat less developed than those of the oblong of Hurus, but the leading form is the same; Hutz has also preserved some curious signs by the side of his initials, which may possibly be taken from the mark of John Hurus. These facts are so convincing that we cannot doubt that the Valencian printer is Leonhard Hutz, even when his name is somewhat disguised.

From 1506 the Hurus office became undoubtedly the property of Georg Coci. It has often been supposed that his German name was Koch; others have called him Georgius Cocus, and M. Delalain,[1] deceived by a rather illegible monogram, even styled him Borgius Locus; but all these variations are erroneous. He himself always spells his name Coci, in Latin as well as in Spanish, in the nominative as well as the genitive, and always adds that he was of German origin: *Theutonicus, Aleman.* He tells us nothing more about himself, and I doubt whether those Dutch writers are correct who attribute to Coci a Netherland origin. Be this as it may, he is without doubt one of the most celebrated Spanish printers of the sixteenth century, and well deserves to be placed by the side of Kromberger, the most famous of all. There is scarcely any book of contemporary profane literature (as far as I know, Coci is

[1] *Inventaire des marques d'imprimeurs et de libraires de la collection du cercle de la librairie.* 2nd ed. Paris, 1892. P. 220.

remarkable for his neglect of theology, then the favourite subject of printing,) which was not issued in a Coci edition, and many works of the kind he was the first to publish. All his productions, moreover, are conspicuous by the beauty of the types, the accuracy of the printing, and the excellence of the paper. Georg Coci.

The first that I am aware of is the edition of the *Trescientas*, by the famous poet, Juan de Mena, finished May 5, 1506, bearing Coci's own mark, and not that of the Hurus press. He issued the same book four times, a proof that the editions were not very large —a fact corroborated by additional evidence. All Coci's productions are very rare, and as the bibliographies of Spanish sixteenth century books are very defective, many of his works may have escaped our attention. In 1894 my list of Coci books amounted to forty-three, and since then I have been able to add some twenty new titles to it, and it is to be hoped that every bibliographical publication on early Spanish books will throw some fresh light on the subject. It is impossible here to give the full list of all these books. I need only mention the Spanish translations of Virgil, issued in 1513, of Livy, one of Coci's most splendid productions, in 1520, and the Terence of 1524. As to poetry, I have already mentioned four editions of Juan de Mena's poems, besides which there are the *Cancioneros* of Juan de Luzon, 1508, and Juan del Encina, 1516, and two issues of the *Carcel de Amor*, 1516 and 1523. In history he printed the Chronicle of Spain by Diego de Valera, in 1513, the works of Marineus Siculus in 1519, and the second letter of Fernando Cortes in 1523. But the most remarkable feature in the history of his press is the great number of works on music, mathematics, geography, and similar subjects, issued by it, as books of this kind especially were not often undertaken by the early printers. Except some official publications, as the *Fueros de Aragon* of 1517, almost all the books were printed at his own expense, so that even in this particular he continued as his predecessor, Hurus, had begun. By his splendid and successful activity, Coci had established the fame of his press so firmly that it continued under his name for a long time after his death. He

Georg Coci. inherited the business of Hurus; but the latter's name vanishes with his death, and even the mark, though preserved in the general features of its second and third form, was essentially changed in its most conspicuous part, as Coci put his initials in place of the triangles which formed the centre of the Hurus' mark. It may be doubted whether this monogram is really to be read J(orge) C(oci), as has been thought by most of his biographers; perhaps it is only a letter G with the cross staff passing through it. At all events it is a characteristic mark, which cannot be mistaken. From the surrounding scroll he removed the motto of Hurus, and inserted his own, which reads: *Multi pacifici sint tibi at consiliarius sit tibi unus de mille. Eccl. cap. VI.* But he retained from the Hurus mark the lions below the monogram, as well as the saints at its sides. In later years—as in the Livy of 1520—Coci used a somewhat modified design. His initials, inscribed in an heraldic escutcheon, are now suspended in a tree loaded with fruit, with two little escutcheons at the sides. The lions at the foot are no longer contending, but lying in a peaceable attitude. In the background is a seaport town on one side, a fertile valley on the other, and some rare and curious plants interspersed in the corners. The motto is removed to the border of the mark, which has an oblong form.

There exists a third mark with the monogram of Coci, but I do not believe that it was used by him. The last book which was undoubtedly printed by Coci is the second edition of Verinus *de puerorum moribus*, issued in 1535, the colophon of which runs: *summa cura imprimi curavit Georgius Coci Theutonicus.* Four other books, executed from 1537-39, bear the words, *en casa de George Coci*, but no different publisher is named, as is always the case in books printed after this date. Very probably Coci died about that time, though there is no book where the words, *que santa gloria haya*, or the like, are added to his name, as is very common in reference to deceased printers during this period. At all events, in 1543 his establishment had passed to other hands. The name of the famous printer, indeed, is preserved, but in a manner which leaves no doubt that he himself was no longer connected with it.

For the most part the books claim to have issued from the "*casa de George Coci a expensas de Pedro Bernuz y Bartolomé de Najera.*" Gallardo[1] tells us that Najera was the son-in-law of Coci, and that he carried on the establishment down to his own death, which happened between 1555 and 1562. After this his widow continued printing for ten years more, but the office seems to have been in a declining state during this time, for the books are mostly printed for others. Bartolomé de Najera must not be confounded with another printer of Saragossa of the same surname, Stephen G. (perhaps Godinez) de Najera. He is at work simultaneously, from 1550 to 1552 at least, but has nothing to do with Bartolomé and the Coci office, and uses an entirely different mark, representing an eagle devouring a scorpion, with the motto, *Justa ultio.* Coci's successors.

If Bartolomé de Najera was the true heir to Georg Coci, I do not know what part Pedro Bernuz played in the matter. As long as they are printing in partnership, *i.e.* from 1542 to 1546, Bernuz is always named first. The mark adopted at this period shows the monogram of Georg Coci on an escutcheon, behind which an angel is standing, who supports the shield with his left hand. The motto in the border is preserved. This mark, as well as that used previously by Coci, is employed in different books issued by Bernuz after he had separated from Najera, but whilst the latter still continued printing. Perhaps it is merely a matter of form that Bernuz in different productions, executed from the year 1562 downwards, when the widow of Najera again was printing, asserts that he is printing, "*en la Casa que fue de Jorge Coci, que ahora es de Pedro Bernuz.*" But in 1547 he had made a similar statement, various books bearing the remark, "*en las casas de Jorge Coci a costa de Pedro Bernuz.*" Be that as it may, at all events it is not Bernuz who should be praised for having maintained the characteristic excellence of the Coci office, though he is by far the most prolific of the printers who have claimed to be Coci's successors. Even if Bernuz inherited the trade rights and properties,

[1] *Ensayo*, etc., vol. iii., p. 1026, No. 3284.

Monastery of S. Pedro Martir, Toledo.

it is Najera who deserves the credit of upholding the well-earned fame of the press which had passed to a third generation without falling short of the high standard which had raised it to a level with the most renowned of Spain, at a period when the art was rapidly declining throughout the peninsula.

XII. Press at the Monastery of S. Pedro Martir, Toledo.

Returning to the fifteenth century, we meet in 1486 with a new and most interesting printing office at Toledo. The establishment of the first press in the capital of New Castile is nearly connected with the affairs of the *Cruzada*, as spiritual indulgences in Spain continued to be styled even when the wars with the Moors had ceased for many years. We do not know the precise date of the first royal charter which granted to the monastery of San Pedro Martir at Toledo the privilege of printing the letters of indulgence for all the Spanish dominions. The earliest specimen preserved is said to be printed in 1483, but after again inspecting the facsimile given by Señor Perez Pastor,[1] I doubt whether this date is correct. Having been added in manuscript to the printed letter of indulgence, we cannot wonder at its being executed very hastily and indistinctly. I think the last number may be a four (jiii°), or even an eight (viii°) ; at all events I have not thought it safe to take the date of 1483 as proved for the introduction of printing in Toledo. I have rather chosen the year 1486, when undoubtedly the first book was printed there by the same craftsman who executed the indulgences, as may be proved by the similarity of the founts employed. Letters of indulgence have of course been printed in great quantities and on different occasions ; but though the specimens are not very rare—the National Library at Paris alone possesses six letters of indulgence anterior to 1490—the matter has not hitherto been thoroughly studied. From docu-

[1] *La imprenta en Toledo*, p. 3.

mentary proof it appears that a general privilege existed in favour of S. Pedro Martir in Toledo till 1492 or 1493; at which date a similar privilege was granted to the monastery of Our Lady of Prado at Valladolid, and from that time the presses of both monasteries were concurrently at work in printing indulgences. The extension of the privilege to a second place was probably a consequence of want of means in the Toledo office for the execution of the total amount required. This would, at the same time, explain why the first printers of Toledo produced so little. The first of them, Juan Vazquez (this is his name, and not Vazqui, which is only the Latin form of the patronym Vazquez, son of Vasco), besides the letters of indulgence, did not print more than three works, two of them bearing the date 1486; the third has no date at all, but Gallardo, who was the first to notice it, concluded from the text of the book that it must have been issued before the conquest of Granada. As we know of no other productions of Vazquez, and as in 1494 another printer (Juan Tellez) appears in Toledo, where, down to 1510, there seems to have been no other printing office than that of S. Pedro Martir, I do not hesitate to attribute the third Vazquez print to nearly the same period as the other two, that is, about 1486.

Juan Vazquez and Juan Tellez, printers to the monastery.

It will be convenient to give in this place the few notices we have been able to collect about the second printer of Toledo, who was probably the successor of Vazquez in the direction of the establishment in the monastery of Saint Peter Martyr. Like his predecessor he seems to have been almost exclusively occupied with the letters of indulgence, and only occasionally to have had time to execute other books. In fact, we do not know of more than a single work that bears his name, and even this is only known by incidental references, no copy having hitherto appeared either in public or private libraries; it is a treatise on critical days by a physician of Toledo, probably the same Julian Gutierrez who is the author of another medical book on the gravel, printed at Toledo, March 29, 1494, being the second production attributed to Juan Tellez by inference only. A few years later Tellez must

Bart. de Lille at Coria.

have ceased to print, for in 1498 we meet in his place with another printer of German origin, whose work will presently be noticed.

XIII. 1489. Press of Bartolomé de Lille at Coria.

In 1489 Bartolomé de Lille, who styles himself a Fleming, printed at Coria an edition of a *Blason General.* This book has given rise to much debate among bibliographers, as it seems improbable that it was really printed at the place named in it. It has been conjectured[1] that it was executed in Soria, which, by another unfounded hypothesis, was thought to have had a printing office before 1500. But as it is proved that the Hebrew book attributed to this town was merely executed by a Jew who was a native of it,[2] the claim that Bartolomé de Lille was at work there must also be dismissed. The letters S and C are rarely confounded, *c* being pronounced like a sharp *z*, with which it is often interchanged. But I do not know why the reading Coria should not be correct. The town was the seat of a bishop long before printing was introduced there, and it is curious that not only this but several other little places on the Portuguese frontier, where the art of printing has scarcely existed in modern times, had a short-lived press in the period of its early infancy.

XIV. 1489. Press of Arnald Guillen de Brocar at Pampelona.

In the same year another of the most famous presses was established at Pampelona by Arnald Guillen de Brocar. The Spaniards have always looked on Brocar as a foreigner, and have even thought him to be a German, possibly because Alvar Gomez[3]

[1] Volger, *l.c.*, p. 115.

[2] R. Joseph Albo, philosophus, natione Hispanus, patria Surianus. On account of this statement Herr Reichardt has credited the town of Soria with a printing office.

[3] *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio.* Francofurti, 1581. P. 43.

says in the life of Cardinal Ximenez that Brocar was summoned from Germany to execute the celebrated Complutensian Polyglot. He may have been a foreigner, but a German he was not. He always writes his name Arnao Guillem or Guillen in Spanish and Arn*a*ldus Guillermus in Latin, both which forms are incompatible with a German origin, particularly the Latin one, in which, had he been a German, he would have betrayed the fact by writing Arn*o*ldus Guillelmus. The probability is that he was a native of the south of France. There is a small town in the Landes named Brochard, which may well have been his home, especially as he begins practising his art in the extreme north of the peninsula in towns lying on the road from France to Castile. The first place in which we meet with him is Pampelona, and the whole of his work there belongs to the period of the *incunabula*, as he seems to have quitted it in 1500. As Brocar's was the only press existing at Pampelona until late in the sixteenth century (Adrian de Anvers began printing there in 1568), we are fully justified in ascribing to him the few Pampelona works which have neither date nor printer's name, and in assigning them to the years preceding 1500. Reckoning thus, his work from 1489 to 1500 will include sixteen publications, almost all undertaken at his own expense.

Brocar at Pampelona, Logroño, etc.

What induced Brocar to leave a place where he was so successful we cannot tell. It has been conjectured that there were possibly family reasons, because in later times he uses a device which seems to indicate that he was not on good terms with his relatives. But the mark with the motto *Inimici hominis domestici eius* was not used by him until long after. At Pampelona and in his early works at Logroño he only uses a small mark with a circle and printer's staff and his initials, all in white on a black ground, within an oblong figure containing some other ornamentation. The fact of his using a mark at all rather militates against his being a Spaniard, and is an argument in favour of his belonging to a German school, which about this time used marks of very similar design. At Logroño, where he began printing in 1503, Brocar seems to have laid the foundation of his future wealth and fame. He is one of those

Brocar at Alcalá.

printers who like to speak of themselves in their books, so it is he himself who tells us that he was master of the Logroño press from 1504, and a citizen of the town at least as early as 1513. He repeats this even in some of his first productions at Alcalá, whither he afterwards transferred his principal establishment, at the same time maintaining three others at Logroño, Toledo, and Valladolid. The Alcalá press was the result of the friendship which sprung up between Brocar and Antonius Nebrissensis. The first traces of it may be found in the printing of some of Antonius' works at Logroño in 1508 and the following years. We may fairly assume, though it cannot be actually proved, that it was on the recommendation of Antonius Nebrissensis that Brocar was called to Alcalá to supervise the press which Cardinal Ximenez was desirous of setting up there. The first book printed by Brocar at Alcalá is dated February 26, 1511, but he still continues to call himself a citizen of Logroño in 1513, and this seems to indicate that he had not yet permanently settled at Alcalá. But some change must have taken place shortly after, for from 1514 the Alcalá establishment issues far more works than any of Brocar's other presses. That of Logroño possibly began to decline in 1512. In that year he received a commission from Antonius Nebrissensis to print a second edition of his *Dictionarium*, but was unable to execute it in his own office. He entrusted it to Friedrich Biel at Burgos, where the book was accordingly printed at Brocar's expense, and with his mark, though Fadrique informs us that he was the actual printer. The reason for this may have been twofold. Antonius quitted his chair at the University of Salamanca in this year, 1512, and remained, as he says, idle at the court, which was for some time at Burgos, before proceeding to his new post in the University of Alcalá. Brocar on his part had begun to print several voluminous works in the autumn of 1512, and his presses may have been so fully occupied as to render him unable to print the *Dictionarium* at the same time.

In 1514 he began to print the celebrated Polyglot of Cisneros, the work which has principally rendered him famous, and it was

Brocar's eldest son, Juan, who, in 1517, was chosen to present the first complete copy of the work to the Cardinal, who received it and him with warm praise of his father's energy.[1] It was about this time that Brocar reached the crowning point in his career. When Charles V. first visited Spain in 1517, Brocar seems to have paid his respects to him and to the most influential members of his court, and, backed as he was by the recommendation of Antonius Nebrissensis and the friends of the lately deceased Cisneros, to have gained fresh honour and profit. In 1517 he printed at Logroño the Chronicle of John II. of Castile by Perez de Guzman, a masterpiece of typography, executed by command of Charles V., who appointed him court printer, *impresor de S. M.* or *typographus regius.* At the same time he undertook a business which added much to his fame and fortune, viz., the contract for printing all the bulls and letters of indulgence issued throughout Spain. Both the concessions granted to the monasteries of St. Peter Martyr at Toledo and that of Our Lady of Prado at Valladolid were, with the authority of the royal council, leased to Brocar, and he thus came to have two more presses in these places without giving up those already existing at Logroño and Alcalá. For the greater part of the year these additional presses, which were set up in the precincts of the monasteries, were occupied in printing letters of indulgence, but in both of them some other works were executed. In Toledo we find five books printed by Brocar from 1518 to 1521, among them being one of his most celebrated productions, the *Apiarium* of Hamuscus, printed by order of Bishop Fonseca, to whom Antonius Nebrissensis had recommended Brocar as the man best qualified for such a task.[2] In Valladolid he also printed five books during the years 1515-19, which seems to indicate that he farmed this press before he took that at Toledo. He retained both until his death, which took place towards the end of 1523. There are many books bearing his name which were issued in 1524, but as his sons and his successor,

Brocar at Toledo and Valladolid.

[1] Alvar Gomez, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio.* Francofurti, 1581. P. 44.

[2] Perez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo*, p. 43.

1489. S. Cugat del Valls.

Miguel de Eguia, petitioned for the continuance of the grant of printing as early as December 24, 1523,[1] Brocar must have died before that date. There are no books in his case, as in that of his son, bearing the words *que santa gloria haya*, but there can scarcely be any doubt as to the approximate date of his decease.

Miguel de Eguia was possibly son-in-law to Brocar, as in the petition just referred to he appears on equal terms with the sons ; he it was, too, who long gave his name to the presses at Logroño and Alcalá, and it is only after he disappears in 1538 that these presses pass to Brocar's eldest son Juan, who maintained them till 1552.[2]

The total number of books printed by Brocar is very considerable, being no less than ninety-two, but of these only sixteen belong to the period of *incunabula*. His great fame was well deserved, and even after his death his establishment continued to be one of the most important in Spain.

XV. 1489. Press at S. Cugat del Valls.

A very short-lived press was started in this same year (1489) in the monastery of San Cucufate vallis Aretanae, probably S. Cugat del Valls, near Barcelona. It was possibly one of the Barcelonese printers, who was called thither to print the book of S. Isac *de religione*, but did not append his name to the work. A comparison of the types would probably remove all doubt, but this part of the study of Spanish *incunabula*, which must be made on the spot, has been much neglected by the Spaniards, and perhaps no foreigner has hitherto had an opportunity of attempting it.

XVI. 1490. Press of the Quatuor Alemanni at Seville.

The year 1490 brings us at last to Seville. A company of German printers developed considerable activity in that city, signing their productions sometimes as the *cuatro compañeros alemanes*

[1] *Ib.*, p. xviii.

[2] The office continued until 1561 under his name, but in the possession of others.

only, sometimes giving the full names of all four partners. In three years they issued together nine productions; then the thitherto leading member of the firm disappears, but the other three print sixteen books more down to 1499. From that date to 1501 we find only two partners, who print seven works in the two years; finally the only surviving partner issues two books, which bear the date of 1503. From the very beginning the partners used a mark of the simplest design, showing the double-barred cross above a circle divided in four compartments, bearing their four initials. As the number of the partners diminished, the respective initials disappeared one after the other, but I am not able to ascertain whether Pegnitzer, when alone, continued to employ any mark. It rather seems that he did not. At first Paul of Cologne was the principal partner, but he soon quitted the firm, owing either to death or some other cause, and from thence to the very end Johann Pegnitzer, a native of the city of Nuremberg, was the leading member. It seems that it is really to him the firm was indebted for the renown it acquired, for it is he who was summoned in 1496 by Archbishop Talavera to execute in partnership with another Seville printer, Meinard Ungut, the famous edition of the *Vita Christi* by Father Ximenez in the city of the Abencerrages. Perhaps this is not the only production of that rather ephemeral partnership. Senor Hidalgo[1] has discovered in a private library at Madrid a volume containing several religious tracts, which seems to have been printed by the same artists who executed the *Vita Christi.* Though it bears neither place nor date, it must, if the former supposition prove true, be ascribed to Pegnitzer and Ungut, and to the year 1496, for their establishment is the only one existing at Granada down to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The "Quatuor Alemanni."

The third of the German partners at Seville is Magnus Herbst of Fils. To Spanish writers his name has always been a riddle. Diosdado Caballero[2] supposed that "Herbst de Fils" might be an abbreviation of "haeredes et filios." This seemed strange even to

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia*, 2nd ed., p. 393.

[2] *De prima typographiae Hispanicae aetate specimen*, 2nd ed., p. 157.

The "Quatuor Alemanni."

Mendez,[1] but he did not make a much better suggestion when he identified our Seville printer with the Joannes dictus Magnus Herbost de Silgenstadt, who was at work in 1483 in Venice. Probably Herbost and Herbst are indeed the same name, but whilst the Seville printer came originally from Fils, a little town in Würtemberg, the Venetian was a native of Silgenstadt or Seligenstadt in Franconia. Herbst continued printing in conjunction with Pegnitzer until 1501, whilst the fourth of the partners, Thomas, disappears two years before that date.

It is one of the most hazardous and ill-founded suppositions of Herr Volger,[2] that this Thomas was identical with Giovanni Tommaso Favario, an Italian merchant and publisher, who had acquired a widespread fame among the Spaniards. From 1496 to 1553 this Italian, partly alone, partly in conjunction with other publishers, issued a considerable number of books, printed by different craftsmen in almost all the places where printing presses were established. The most famous printers, like Hurus at Saragossa, Brocar at Pampelona, Andres de Burgos at Burgos, Gaspar de Avila at Toledo, Nicolas Thierry at Valladolid, Juan Mey at Alcalá, worked at his order, and such was the renown Favario had earned among the Spaniards, that in Segovia, where in later years he took up his abode, he was known as the "sabio Milanes." Though we have seen, indeed, that the natives of all the countries that once had formed part of the Holy Roman Empire were called Germans in Spain, it is not to be supposed that this was the case with Favario, who seems to have been rather proud of his Italian origin, for he repeatedly states that he was a native of Lumello in the county of Milan. Volger maintained that the Christian name of Thomas was John, like that of Favario, but this cannot be proved at all. On the contrary, since Volger wrote his paper two productions of the "*compañeros*" have been discovered, issued in 1496 and in 1498 respectively; in these the full names of all the partners are given, and Thomas is called Thomas Gloguer in 1496, and, as I think, more correctly, Thomas Glockner in 1498.

[1] Second ed., p. 108.

[2] *L.c.*, p. 114.

XVII. 1491-2. Press of Meinard Ungut at Seville.

In the year following the *début* of the "cuatro compañeros," or at the latest in 1492, a second printing office was established in Seville by a craftsman of German origin. This, like that of Hurus at Saragossa, is one of those the history of which we can follow for a considerable time. Meinard Ungut has been mentioned before as printing in conjunction with Johann Pegnitzer the work of Father Ximenez at Granada in 1496. He makes his first appearance in 1491 at Seville with Lanzalao, or rather Stanislas, a native of Poland, as his partner, and worked in conjunction with him until 1499. In that year, apparently, he died, while Stanislas not only continues printing at the same place, but even enters into a new partnership for some years, before leaving for Alcalá, at which famous locality he was the first to open a printing establishment. There has been some dispute as to whether there are any books printed by either of the partners alone before the death of Meinard. Several, which from second-hand references had been attributed to one of the partners only, have proved, on accurate inspection, to be the work of both. Such is the *Cronica del rey D. Pedro*, of 1495, mentioned by Brunet[1] as a production of Meinard alone. Another issue, dated 1496, and vaguely reported by Hain,[2] is suspicious in itself, and will probably prove to be identical with the edition of 1497, executed by both partners. It only remains to mention a fairly well-authenticated production of Stanislas of the year 1491, the existence of which would perhaps establish his claim to have been the real founder of the afterwards famous press at Seville. But even if it were so, it is not Stanislas alone who is deserving of the praises so plentifully bestowed on these early printers. He cannot have published more than this single book by himself before entering into partnership with Ungut, and on the decease of the latter he was

Ungut and Stanislas.

[1] Second ed., vol. i., p. 108. In the 5th ed. the quotation is corrected.

[2] No. 3509, S. Bonaventura, *Instructio novitiorum*.

Ungut and Stanislas.

unable to carry on the press. After having issued a few books, almost all printed at the expense of others, he was obliged to enter into a new partnership, and after a short time left his business entirely to the newcomer and went away to begin afresh elsewhere. His name, too, throughout the partnership with Meinard, always stands second; a further proof that it was not he who directed the office during its most flourishing period.

The books printed by Ungut and Stanislas do not give us any details of the life of the former; it is only repeatedly stated in their colophons that he was a German, just as his partner almost always states that he was a native of Poland. The productions of this press are famous for the clearness of the types and for the accuracy of the setting, and it is probably on account of these virtues that Ungut was summoned to Granada by Archbishop Talavera. I believe the types with which Ximenez' book was printed there to be those of Ungut; at least, they seem to have remained in his possession, and not to have passed to that of his Granada partner, Johann Pegnitzer. But in spite of their abilities, Ungut and Stanislas cannot have been possessed of considerable resources, for among their later books some six or more were printed at the expense of others, *e.g.*, of that most active Italian bookseller, Melchior Gorricio, of the well-known Lazaro de Gazaniis and his partners, and also of a German merchant, Maestre Conrado, who took part in the publication of the *Regimiento de principes* by Aegidius de Columna, issued Oct. 20, 1494.

In most of their books Ungut and Stanislas used a small printer's mark, representing a flourishing tree, on the branches of which are suspended two little escutcheons, bearing the initials M and S respectively. A similar design occurs repeatedly in the marks of Spanish printers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as in the case of Georg Coci, but I am not able to ascertain whether there was any connection between the printers using it. Some of the latest books of Ungut and Stanislas present another mark of very simple design: in white on a black or red background the double-barred cross emerging from a circle which in its lower part bears

the single letter C. In a former paper I ventured the suggestion that this mark might be the first trace of the entrance of Jakob Kromberger into the Seville office, but I confess that on further evidence I have changed my opinion, and I no longer doubt the accuracy of those writers who explain the letter C as meaning *Compañia*, all the books bearing this mark having been printed at the expense of a company of merchants of which Lazaro de Gazaniis was the chief. The mark, therefore, is not a printer's, but a publisher's mark. That this is the correct explanation of the design becomes the more probable from the fact that Lazaro de Gazaniis put another mark of his own—a double-barred cross emerging from a circle, with the letters LA.G.—in a book which was printed in 1503, at his expense, by Johann Pegnitzer.

Stanislas and Kromberger.

After Ungut disappeared, Stanislas continued at work in Seville from 1500 to 1502, and during these years issued eight books. I was in doubt as to whether he used a mark in these, and if so, of what kind, and therefore asked the help of my friend Señor Murillo, librarian at Madrid, for the necessary researches in the National Library there. I thus ascertained that Stanislas used two similar though slightly differing marks in Seville. One of these is the well-known mark which Stanislas put to all his Alcalá productions. It reminds us of the C mark, for it too consists of the cross and circle, the latter doubled, bearing the initial S in the inner compartment, and the word *Polonus* between the two circles. The similarity to the C mark is only lessened by the background not being plain, as in the earlier mark, but covered all over with ornamental flowers and branches. The other mark presents pretty much the same design in a diminished size, but there is a crown added in the upper part; and in the ornamental border which surrounds the rectangle some little crosses are put (on the left hand in the upper part, on the right hand in the lower part) in place of the straight lines of the Alcalá design. I do not know whether this mark was often employed; I only know of it as occurring in the *Improbatio Alcorani* of 1500. Before his name finally disappears from the Seville office Stanislas begins printing

Jakob Kromberger.

at Alcalá, where he issued, from 1502 to 1504, six works, some of them of considerable extent. It is to be supposed that he left the direction of the Seville establishment to Kromberger some time before he ceded to him all his interest in it; perhaps he went to Alcalá first as an experiment, and did not leave the Seville office until after having gained a footing in the former town, where the art of printing attained a very remarkable development during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The Seville press on the departure of Stanislas passed into the hands of Jakob Kromberger. There was no trace of any connection between the Ungut office and the famous printing establishment of the Krombergers until M. Harrisse in his *Excerpta Colombina*[1] mentioned a *Marco Polo* printed in 1502 by Stanislas Polonus and Jakob Kromberger. His quotation has proved to be a mistake as regards the year, but is materially correct, for there really exists a *Marco Polo*, the colophon of which reads: *el qual se emprimio por Lançalao polono y Jacome Cromberger alemano año de mill quinientos y tres a XXVIII. dias de mayo.* Señor Escudero[2] has since registered four more books issued by these partners during the year 1503, two of them bearing the special dates April 15 and October 21, whilst the first book printed by Stanislas at Alcalá is dated November 22, 1502. This is a strong reason against the reported existence of books printed by Jakob Kromberger alone as early as 1502, though different writers have accepted it, and the latest historian of printing in Seville, Señor Escudero,[3] has adhered to their opinion. I think I shall be able to prove the contrary. Two books have been attributed to a Kromberger press in the year 1502. As the anonymous Seville edition of the *Celestina*, dated 1502, contains the same woodcuts as the *Eurialus & Lucrecia*, printed by Kromberger in 1512, Señor Salvá[4] concludes that it necessarily must have sprung from the same press of Kromberger. We acknowledge the justice of the conclusion, but since it has been proved that Kromberger remained

[1] P. 6, note.
[2] *Tipografia Hispalense*, p. 125 ss.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 124, No. 122.
[4] *Catalogo*, vol. i., p. 385 s.

in the office of Ungut and Stanislas, the *Celestina* of 1502 may as well have been printed by Stanislas alone or by him and Kromberger in conjunction. Salvá himself did not attribute any great weight to his supposition, for he states elsewhere in his Catalogue that the issue of 1503 by Stanislas and Kromberger seems to be the first appearance of the latter's name in the annals of printing in Spain.[1]

Jakob Kromberger.

It is more difficult to get over the second piece of evidence relating to the *Cronica Troyana*, finished October 28, 1502. If we only took into account the mere number and weight of the authorities who have quoted this edition, it would be audacious to doubt its existence, but on closer examination the matter assumes quite a different aspect. I am almost sure that all the quotations have been copied from one another, and that the book itself has never existed. Señor Hazañas[2] gives Salvá as his authority; Salvá[3] took his note from Brunet, and Brunet[4] appeals to the *Thesaurus* of Herr Graesse, a work which, in spite of its undeniable merits, is not at all free from errors and misapprehensions. Herr Graesse[5] indeed quotes the full title of an edition of the *Cronica Troyana* issued October 28th, 1502, *en las casas de Iacome Cromberger*. The last mentioned words were the first to arouse my suspicion. All the early Kromberger books bear the remark that they were printed by (por) Jakob Kromberger, indicating his personal activity in the work, and he rarely, if ever, omits to point out his German origin. Though I am convinced that Kromberger was by no means a poor man when he entered the office, nevertheless there is no mention of the *casas de Cromberger* to be found during the first period of his activity. It is only in later times, after Johann Kromberger's death, that the books issued from the office are repeatedly said to have been executed *en las casas de Iacome Cromberger*. If, therefore, an edition of the *Cronica Troyana* exists,

[1] *Catalogo*, vol. ii., p. 586.
[2] *La imprenta en Sevilla*. Sevilla, 1892. P. 34.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 52.
[4] *Manuel du libraire*, 5th ed., vol. ii., p. 171.
[5] *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, vol. ii., p. 230.

The Krombergers.

issued during the later printing period of Jakob Kromberger, Herr Graesse has probably committed an error and thus given rise to confusion. Now we have in the sale-catalogue of the Heber[1] Collection an edition of the *Cronica Troyana* of 1552, which is quoted by Brunet[2] and others. I am very sorry that I have not been able to ascertain its present possessor nor the existence of a second copy. If the 1552 edition is dated October 28th, there can be no doubt that Herr Graesse was in error in attributing to 1502 an issue which belongs to 1552. But until the Heber copy is again discovered, substantial proof is wanting for my suggestion, which, however, I think, is well enough founded to be accepted without it.

Kromberger thus entered the office in 1503, worked during that year in conjunction with Stanislas, but got it into his own hands exclusively from the beginning of 1504. It is only in a few books, printed by Jakob Kromberger after his separation from his son, that a real printer's mark is to be found. It recalls the above-mentioned C mark, although it is still plainer in its design, and bears the initials J. C., in black, in the lower compartment of the circle. It is only in the richly ornamented borders that quite a little mark, almost identical with the other in its essential features, is used. But its form is so varying and it is so inconspicuous that it is scarcely to be considered as a mark proper. The names of the Krombergers are among the most famous in the history of printing and of Spanish literature, especially on account of the peculiar character of their publications. Many of the romances of the Amadis de Gaul style were printed for the first time by others, and it must even be conceded that in the time of Ungut and Stanislas the presses were occupied in issuing some works of belles lettres, but no name is so intimately connected with the famous romances that gave rise to the immortal satire of Cervantes as that of the Krombergers. Their issues of these works possess a rich and finished appearance which has never been equalled by those of any other of the

[1] *Bibliotheca Heberiana.* (London, 1834.) Part i., p. 92, No. 1798.

[2] Fifth ed., vol. ii., p. 171.

romance printers. My list of Kromberger books is still very defective, but has been considerably augmented during the three years I have spent in collecting materials for a history of printing in Spain. I have, however, been surprised to find that even the lists of Señor Escudero, the special historian of Seville printing, are very defective when compared with my own. I have hitherto registered 239 books which bear the name of the Krombergers; of these, 118 are to be attributed to Jakob, 114 to Johann, and 7 to their joint activity. Of these 239 books, no less than 103 are of belles lettres, amongst them being 58 romances of the Amadis description; 38 are historical, including the first editions of the second and third letter of Fernan Cortes, the *Historia general de las Indias*, by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, and the works of Peter Martyr, besides a set of chronicles of the ancient kings of Castile; 65 works are theological, or at least of pious character, whilst the rest are made up of jurisprudence, philosophy, geography, medicine, music, etc.

The Krombergers.

In spite of these many productions executed during more than half a century, we do not know much about the lives of the Krombergers. There can be no doubt that Kromberger is the correct spelling of the name; indeed it is the only one to be found in the earliest productions, viz., in some of those of Stanislas and Kromberger; but if it had appeared but once, this would be enough to prove that it is right; for Cromberger, Cromberguer, Cromberjer, Corumberger, Cronberger, are all variations intended to adapt the German name to the Spanish tongue, and to facilitate the right pronunciation by the Spaniards. To both of them, Jakob and Johann Kromberger, the prefix "de" is given in a single colophon, but the scarcity of the evidence proves its little value. In some rare books, especially in the earliest ones and in those executed after Johann had quitted the office, Jakob Kromberger adds some flattering epithets to his name, as "master," "most experienced in the art of typography;" but these are exceptions, the colophons of these printers being generally of the simplest character. We are not told anything about the origin of the family. The supposition of

The Krombergers.

Tito de Noronha,[1] that Kromberger sprung from the family of the Koburgers, who were also famous in the annals of typography, is a mere blunder occasioned by the slight knowledge of German of that otherwise meritorious writer. We do not even know how many generations of the name have been established in Seville. The most varying opinions have been upheld by different writers. Some say Johann was a brother to Jakob and that there was only one generation of Krombergers; others have stated that Johann was the son of Jakob, and that a second Jakob, son of Johann, was the author of the works printed after the death of Johann with the name of Jakob; thus we should get three generations. I am of a different opinion. We can scarcely doubt that Johann was the son of Jakob; this is to be concluded from the colophons of those books which they executed together. In these Jakob is always styled a German (*aleman*), an epithet strikingly absent from the name of Johann, the colophon running thus: *impreso por Jacobo Cromberger, aleman, y Juan Cromberger*. If Johann was the brother of Jakob, he too would have been a German; but if he was, as I suppose, the son of Jakob and of a Spanish lady, born in Spain, the matter assumes a different aspect. Whoever has studied the history of the German artisans and craftsmen who went to Spain to earn their living there, will be astonished to find how many of them were married to Spanish ladies, and how in a short time they, or at least the next generation, lost almost every remembrance of their German origin. Such, I suppose, was the case of the Kromberger family, and I think it does not militate against my suggestion, that in some few works, executed by Johann Kromberger, he, too, is styled a German. If Johann was the son of Jakob, the latter must have married soon after he entered the establishment. Johann must have helped his father at an early period of his life, for he could not have been more than some twenty years old when Jakob retired and left him the sole direction of the office. Those few books which bear the name of Jakob Kromberger and

[1] *Curiosidades bibliographicas*, vol. ii. *Ordenações do reino*. Porto-Braga, 1871. P. 45.

were executed after the year 1527 cannot be fully explained. That he had no press of his own during this time is to be concluded from the scarcity of books bearing his name. A confusion with his son owing to the identity of their initials may account for some of the books being inaccurately described, but there are a few (for the most part issued before 1530) which undoubtedly are due to Jacob, though Johann during these years was in possession of the celebrated Kromberger establishment.

Valentin Fernandez de Moravia and Nicolas de Saxonia.

One incident in the life of Jakob Kromberger is still to be mentioned, viz., his being summoned to Portugal. When King Manuel formed the design of collecting the laws of the realm into one corpus, and printing it, he seems to have been unwilling to entrust the work to the few printers of his own dominions. It was probably to assist in the deliberations concerning it that Jakob Kromberger was sent for in 1507-8, and King Manuel must have been satisfied with his services, for, by a privilege dated February 21st, 1508, he confers on him the rights of a Knight of the Royal Household, and promises to do the same to every printer who will settle in his dominions with an available property of 10,000 reis.[1] Nevertheless, Kromberger did not himself execute the work, but recommended another German printer to the king for the purpose, Valentin Fernandez de Moravia. As mentioned before, Valentin had begun printing with Nicolas de Saxonia in 1495, and he continued doing so till the year 1505, during which time, however, he did not produce more than nine books, among them being one executed in conjunction with the Cremonese Giovanni Pietro Buonhomini, who for some time afterwards was the principal printer of Lisbon. The press of Valentin Fernandez seems never to have been of great importance, and we need not wonder at this when we remember that Fernandez was at the same time broker of the German merchants at Lisbon, an office which probably was much more productive than that of typographer. Moreover, he was a man of literary aspirations; he composed some treatises

[1] Noronha, Tito de. *A imprensa portugueza no seculo XVI. Seus representantes e suas producções. Ordenações do reino.* Porto, 1873. Pp. 60, 61.

Valentin Fernandez de Moravia and Nicolas de Saxonia.

on the Portuguese discoveries on the coasts of Africa, and his own translation of Marco Polo into Portuguese is among the books printed by him. In their joint productions Nicolas and Valentin had already used a printer's mark—an oblong figure representing a child holding two little escutcheons by a scroll; in the upper corners the initials N and V are placed, and the motto, *Ne projicias me in tempore senectutis cum defecerit virtus mea, ne derelinquas me. Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster*, runs along the four sides of the design. Nicolas does not seem to have used any mark in his subsequent productions, but Valentin repeatedly did, and his mark, slightly varying in several of his books, is one of the very prettiest we find among those of the ancient printers of the Peninsula. It represents a crowned lion, standing upright, and bearing between his paws an escutcheon with the printer's monogram. Below this there is a scroll with the rather mysterious, if correctly reproduced, letters T S V W H,[1] and an overturned vessel, from which some drops are falling. The tail of the lion is divided at its end, forming once more the initial V. The whole mark is oblong in form and surrounded by a Greek border.

On the recommendation of Kromberger, probably, Valentin was charged with printing the *Ordenaçoes do Reino*, but it seems that he was not able to accomplish a work of such extent. We do not know if he ever printed all the five books of the *Ordenaçoes;* I am inclined to adhere to the opinion of Señor Noronha,[2] that Valentin, pressed by the government, resigned the task to another and more prolific printer after having finished the first book on Dec. 17, 1512, and the second on Nov. 19, 1513. Buonhomini, who was selected for the completion of the work, issued in 1514 the remaining three books, and in the same year reprinted the former two. But King Manuel and his government were not satisfied, and in 1521 Kromberger was again summoned to Lisbon for the purpose of printing a new edition of the *Ordenaçoes*. He must

[1] Ribeiro dos Santos reads T S V W T Y. *Memoria para a historia da typografia Portugueza do seculo XVI.*, p. 137,

[2] *A imprensa Portugueza*, etc. *Ordenações do reino.* (Porto, 1873.) P. 21 ss.

have come to the court on this occasion with his entire staff of printers and his printing materials, for he completed the work on March 11, 1521, accompanying the court in its journeys between Lisbon and Evora. King Manuel was so well pleased, that when in 1539 a third edition became necessary, it was entrusted to the Kromberger office, and executed at the press at Seville.

Johann Kromberger.

During the time that Johann Kromberger directed the establishment, business went on as flourishingly as before. Indeed, young as he was, he even gave a new impulse to it. He, too, rarely used a mark; as an exception, he placed in the *Dialogo Clamado Democrates*, by Sepulveda (May 28, 1541), a device showing the circle with his initials in the lower division, and the Holy Lamb above, surrounded by a glory; at the sides are two richly ornamental columns, and ornamental flowers fill all the interstices. Below the mark is the motto: *Spes mea deus.* But I know of only this single book where the mark is used. It reveals a mind much inclined to religious things, and, in fact, we find that Johann issued a rather considerable number of pious works. Without any doubt the Kromberger office was at the time the first, not only of Seville, but of all Spain, and this was the reason that the *Casa de Contratacion*, or Office for Indian Affairs, called in the aid of the Kromberger establishment when it intended to issue a little catechism in the Spanish and Nahuatl languages for the purpose of converting the Indians of Mexico. There may have been an additional reason for the preference given to Kromberger in his personal relation to that country. We have seen that Jakob showed his interest in it by publishing for the first time the letters of Hernan Cortes to the emperor, and later on we find the Krombergers in immediate business connection with Mexico. When Johann died he left a widow and several young children, and when his affairs were settled, in 1542, they were in possession of some silver mines at Sultepeque, which had formerly belonged to the "Alemanes," that is to say, to the company of German merchants at Lisbon and Seville, among whom the principal were the Welser of Augsburg.[1]

[1] Garcia Icazbalceta, T. *Bibliografia Mexicana del siglo XVI.* P. xxv ss.

Johann Kromberger.

This is another reason in favour of my supposition that Kromberger was not only a man of considerable fortune, but also a speculator who endeavoured to increase his wealth by participating in all the great enterprises of the time.

Thus the printing of the Mexican catechism was entrusted to Kromberger; but the task proved to be a very difficult one, as there was nobody at Seville sufficiently versed in the Nahuatl language to revise the translation, so that the printing went on very slowly, too slowly for the impatience of Zumarraga, the newly-appointed Bishop of Mexico, who kept urging the printers to finish the work. To overcome these difficulties, Johann Kromberger resolved to stop the printing of the catechism at Seville, and to send some of his staff to Mexico with the necessary materials to establish a press there. As Zumarraga very gladly consented to this, and offered the fullest privileges, the little company, under the Italian Giovanni Paoli, started from Seville in 1539, arrived safely at Vera Cruz, and in the same year succeeded in issuing the catechism in the Mexican language. This was the first press established in the New World, and it is due to Johann Kromberger, for though he himself seems never to have crossed the Ocean, and though after his death the press was purchased by Giovanni Paoli, his principal agent, it was actually founded by Kromberger, and all the books printed there to the time of his death bear the imprint: *impreso en casa de Juan Cromberger.* We only know of eight books thus issued; all of them, with the single exception of the account of the earthquake of 1541, are of a pious character, and were executed at the instigation and partly at the expense of Bishop Zumarraga of Mexico. It was only when Paoli became the independent chief of the office that it assumed a more secular aspect. That the Mexican press was regarded by Kromberger as quite a business matter may be concluded from the privileges granted to the principal founders, about which there was a lawsuit pending after Johann's death. The original privileges granted to Kromberger for ten years exclusive permission not only to establish a printing press, but also to

import into the colony books printed at other places, which he might sell at double the Seville price. His heirs pleaded for a continuance of this monopoly for the next twenty years, but it was granted to them for ten only.[1] Even this became superfluous on the sale of the business to Paoli.

Jacome Kromberger.

I may take this opportunity to mention that it is a German also who deserves the credit of having introduced the art of printing into another quarter of the world. We cannot prove, though it seems very probable, that the first printer in the East Indies, João Quinquemio de Campanea at Goa in 1561, was of German origin. But his successor at that place, Johann of Emden, was not only a German himself, but went thither as agent of another German, Johann Blavius of Cologne, who had settled in Lisbon, where Johann of Emden had been his partner. This is almost a parallel case with that of Kromberger and Paoli in Mexico, only Johann of Emden printed from the very beginning under his own name, and we only know of the relations that existed between him and Blavius by a privilege granted to the heirs of the latter, wherein it is stated that it was he who first sent over the craftsmen and printing materials to India.[2]

Johann Kromberger must have died in the last days of the year 1540. The *Palmerin de Oliva*, dated that same year, is the first book in which the remark *que dios perdone* is added to his name, whilst in the *Mejia*, *Silva de varia leccion*, dated Dec. 12, 1540, it does not occur. There are, however, books printed at the Mexican press with his name until 1544, and at Seville until even 1546, but a few words alluding to his having died are usually added. However, from Dec. 5, 1542 (the date of Ortega, *Tratado de arismetica*), there were books issued with the words *en casa de Jacome Cromberger*. Writers are not wanting who are of opinion that this Jacome, called also Jacobo, was a son of Johann and belonged to the third generation of the Kromberger family. Indeed, I do not

[1] Garcia Icazbalceta. *L.c.*, p. xxv.

[2] (Deslandes) *Documentos para a historia da typographia portugueza nos seculos XVI. e XVII.*, vol. i., p. 36 ss.

Jacome Kromberger.

remember that the attribute *Aleman*, which Jakob Kromberger rarely omitted in his early productions, occurs in the issues of the *casa de Jacome Cromberger* after Johann's death. But chronologically it is almost impossible that in 1542 a son of Johann could have been of age to superintend the press. If Johann was the son of Jakob he can scarcely have been thirty years old in 1529, when he took possession of the office ; and it is not likely that he married many years before, not having the means to keep a house ; so that his children must have been very young when their father died. This may also be concluded from an inspection of the documents concerning the inheritance left by Johann in Mexico. If the office was continued for the benefit of his sons, they being minors, this would most probably have been done under the father's name. That Johann might have given his eldest son the Christian name of his father is not impossible; but the spelling *Jacome*, *Jacobo*, instead of the Spanish form *Diego*—which the brother of Christopher Columbus adopted as soon as he came to Spain—does not tend to favour the suggestion, as we see that Johann had already become so much of a Spaniard that he concealed his German origin. I rather think that the *casa de Jacome Cromberger* is that of old Jakob Kromberger. Satisfied with his gains he had retired at an early age, and resigned the business to his son that he might get a position. But when Johann died, none of his children being of age, or, perhaps, with Spanish prejudice, despising the modest though profitable trade of printer, old Jakob returned to the calling of his younger years, and though he no longer worked with his own hands, he again took the general management of the establishment which he had made the most celebrated in Spain. He might have been some sixty years old at the time, and so something over seventy when we lose sight of him in 1552. If Jacome was son to Johann, and a minor in 1542, it is scarcely credible that he should have retired after so short a space of time as ten years, whilst it is natural enough that old Jakob Kromberger should have done so. After his death the business again passed to the heirs of Johann, and it is with his name that the latest products of the Kromberger press were

issued, viz., the *Cronica de España*, by Valera, dated March 10, 1553, and the *Marco Aurelio y relox de principes*, by Father Guevara, executed in 1557, *en casa de Juan Cromberger, que santa gloria aya.* I have not found any book printed in the office after that date, but even so, its history covers a period of sixty-six years, from 1491 to 1557. Juan de Burgos.

XVIII. 1490. Press of Juan de Burgos.

But we must return to the fifteenth century, each of the few remaining years of which saw the establishment of some new presses in Spain. In 1490 a second typographer had settled at Burgos. Juan de Burgos is one of those early printers who do not say much about themselves in their works; he neither assumes the title of *maestre*, as some of his countrymen did, following the example of the Germans, nor does he praise his own achievements. His books, however, speak for themselves, as in neatness of type and quality of paper they vie with the best productions of the period. He began printing at Burgos in 1490, and previous to 1499 he printed nine books, all, with one exception, at his own cost. Among them are two romances, the *Baladro del sabio Merlin*, and the *Trabajos de Hercules*, by the Marquis of Villena. These are noteworthy, as the printing of romances was very actively carried on by Juan de Burgos. When he left Burgos and went to Valladolid, romances are again among the first books printed by him. He did not remain long at Valladolid, but after printing four books there in 1500 and 1501, returned to Burgos, where he probably died soon after. I only know of one book which he issued there. Another was published there some years later by his son, Andres de Burgos, before he began his wanderings through the Peninsula, where he worked in various places. Another Andres de Burgos was established at Evora, Portugal, from 1554 to 1583, as printer to the Infant Cardinal, and a Knight of his Household; but I am not sure if he was connected with the one I have already mentioned. Juan de Burgos seems never to have used a printer's mark, but Andres did so in one of the books he issued at Seville; it is of the

Peter Michael at Barcelona.

most simple kind, showing no more than his initials, without any accompanying design.

XIX. 1491. Press of Peter Michael at Barcelona.

In the following years, 1491 and 1492, two printing offices were established at Barcelona. The former is that of Peter Michael, a typographer, who has been considered as a Catalan by all the historians of printing, but whom I shall prove to be a German. The name Miguel, as it is often spelt in his Spanish books, is a common one in Catalonia, and as it is supposed that he is styled a citizen of Barcelona in one of his earliest productions, he was credited with being a Catalan. I was first induced to doubt this by the fact that Michael uses a printer's mark of the same form as the four Germans of Seville, and there is scarcely any Spanish printer of the fifteenth century who ever used a mark, with the exception of Brocar, and even his mark is not of this plain design, which in Spain is almost peculiar to the German printers. I then proceeded to a closer inspection of the colophons of all the books printed by Michael, and there I found ample reasons to support my suggestion that Michael was a German. The Spanish books, indeed, afford no evidence, but the Latin do, and very fully. A Spaniard, if printing Latin books, would not change his name unless it were one of those patronymics ending in *ez*, which in Latin are translated by the genitive of the Christian name, viz., *Martini* = *Martinez*, *Vazqui* = *Vazquez*. A Miguel would give his Christian name in the Latin form, adding his other name unchanged. This Michael does not, he translates the Catalan Miguel by the Latin Michael, and as the Spaniards would pronounce the name, Mi-tcha-el, he even (and this is the best evidence in favour of my supposition) prints it Miquael, the only way to approximately preserve the German pronunciation among Spaniards. Michael was printer and book merchant—*impressor librariusque*—an instance of a combination rarely occurring in the case of Spaniards, but very common among Germans. As to his citizenship at Barcelona,

I rather doubt it. I am sorry that I have not been able to find a copy of the *Sulpitianum opusculum*—a grammatical treatise—printed August 16, 1491, with the colophon : *impensaque diligenter petri michaelis sivis Barchinone impressum.* It is thus given by F. Ribas, the only person who has seen a copy (in the library of Montserrat[1]), and who insists that the colophon reads *sivis*, not *civis*, as Hain writes, though he too supposes that *civis* = *citizen* is to be understood. I am not of this opinion. I rather think that *Barchinone* means *at Barcelona*, and that *sivis*, which certainly cannot have been printed with a *v*, has been incorrectly copied, and that an indication of the printer's origin—perhaps *sueuus*—is the real meaning of it. I have found eleven productions of his issued from 1491 to 1494; one more, issued 1497, bears his name with the word *condam* = *quondam*, *deceased*, an addition which induced not only Brunet,[2] but also Gallardo,[3] and even M. Harrisse,[4] to speak of a printer named Peter Michael Condam. The 1497 book is the *Tirant lo Blanc* mentioned above in the description of the work of Peter Posa. As Michael printed no book after 1494, and was dead in 1497, he probably died in 1495 at the latest; for this reason we should not attribute to him the 794 Letters of Indulgence, printed in the monastery of Montserrat, in 1498, by one *maestre Miquel*, nor an edition of the *Meditations* of S. Bonaventura, dated 1499, and quoted by Hain only, who probably confounded it with the edition of 1493.

Johann Rosenbach.

XX. 1492. Press of Johann Rosenbach at Barcelona.

The second Barcelona press is that of Johann Rosenbach, who began printing there in 1492, and seems to have been at work until 1530, when he printed his last book at Barcelona, having migrated in the meantime more than once to different places. Like all the

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia*, 2nd ed., p. 51, No. 20.
[2] Fifth ed., vol. v., p. 864.
[3] No. 1218.
[4] *Christophe Colomb.*, vol. ii., p. 13, note 2.

Johann Rosenbach.

Barcelona books, his productions have only survived in some single specimens of great rarity. Herr Volger[1] knew of twenty works issued by Rosenbach ; I have had the good luck to meet with nine titles more, and his total work probably amounts to a much greater number, as he continued printing for many years, though very irregularly. We are unusually well-informed about his origin, for he not only states that he was a German, but in almost all of his sometimes rather loquacious colophons names Heidelberg as his native town. Even into his early mark—he used two of quite different design at different times—he has introduced the initial of that place, making it the principal feature of the design, in which his own initials are inscribed in such a fashion that it is rather difficult to decipher them. His second mark, which he probably did not use until late in the sixteenth century, is more elaborate. There is an escutcheon of the arms of Burgundy suspended from the branches of a flourishing tree. Two stags, very roughly drawn, serve as supporters on both sides of the shield, and his name is distributed into the free space above and below. Round about runs the motto: *Cor mundum crea in me deus et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis.* The great dissimilarity of these marks induced Mendez[2] to doubt whether there might not be two printers of the same name, perhaps father and son. I can see no reason for this, as the second mark, the design of which neither Mendez nor Gallardo[3] were able to explain, may well be connected with some important events in the life of Rosenbach. When Charles V. in 1519 stayed at Barcelona, it was there he received the notice of his election as Roman emperor. The festivals occasioned by the fact gave rise to some pamphlets, one of which was certainly printed by Rosenbach, whilst another claims to have been executed *cura Johannis Lalemand Burgundi Caesaris secretarii ordinarii.* This seems to prove that these pamphlets were printed officially, and probably Rosenbach may have been appointed as printer of the emperor's Burgundian chancery, and therefore took the arms of

[1] *L.c.*, p. 97. [2] 2nd ed., p. 177. [3] No. 2967.

Burgundy into his mark, which he continued to use in other books of no official character.

Johann Rosenbach at Barcelona, Tarragona, and Perpignan.

In recent times the name of Rosenbach has been connected with another matter of the greatest interest. The only copy of the Spanish folio edition of Columbus' letter to Luis de Santangel, which Mr. Quaritch sold at a stupendous price to the Lenox Library, is said to have issued from the press of Rosenbach on account of the similarity of the type. This is not the place to enter into a discussion about the genuineness of the work; besides, it would not be possible to judge of it from a facsimile, even though executed so well as that of the Lenox copy. Mr. Quaritch, who, in his great stock of old books, had the best opportunity for comparing the outward features of the pamphlet with other contemporary issues of the Rosenbach press, is rather positive about the matter, and no reasons can be adduced why he should not be right. In his last catalogue Mr. Quaritch has ascribed to Rosenbach some other old anonymous books. I do not accept them here, for want of proof, but merely mention the fact.[1]

In the summer of 1498 Rosenbach went to Tarragona, probably summoned by the bishop, and printed there in this and the following year two books of religious character. From thence he migrated to Perpignan, in the extreme north, then a Spanish town, and printed there in 1500 the two magnificent volumes of the *Breviarium Elnense*. He stayed there until 1502, after which year we lose sight of him for some time; a book issued by him in 1510 is without place, but from 1515 to 1519 he certainly printed again in Barcelona. As early as 1518 he was negotiating with the monastery of Montserrat, which, after having received within its walls for some time a press under the direction of Johann Luschner in 1518, was again wanting some printing done, which Rosenbach was chosen to execute. It seems that he continued printing at Barcelona at the same time, that he sent six craftsmen, for the most part Germans, to the monastery, who were at work there

[1] No. 148, *Biblioteca Hispana*. London, February, 1895.

Valladolid and Valencia.

until 1522. After this date his press is mentioned again at Barcelona, where he appears for the last time in 1530.

XXI. 1492. Press of Francourt at Valladolid.

In the same year, 1492, Valladolid saw its first press established by a German craftsman whose real name cannot be discovered in its Spanish disguise. The peculiar spelling of the name, viz., Froncourt or Francourt, induced Herr Volger [1] to attribute to him a French origin ; but in a book, known to Herr Volger, Francourt expressly states that he was a German. We only know three books issued by him, one of which bears no name at all, but is certainly his; the others spell the name Froncourt or Francour. It is not improbable that the word really signifies Frankfurt, from whence he may have originally come.

XXII. 1493. Press of Peter Hagenbach at Valencia.

In 1493 Peter Hagenbach began his career as a printer at Valencia, where he issued two books in 1493 and 1495, in conjunction with Leonhard Hutz, whom we have already met with at various places. Both of these books were executed at the cost of Jaime de Vila, who himself has been numbered among the printers of *incunabula*, though wrongly, as I suppose. He is said to have printed five books at Valencia during these same years 1493 to 1495, during which Hagenbach and Hutz worked at his order. These books are very rare and have never yet been accurately described, but it appears that even Jaime de Vila himself did not claim to be their printer, but simply stated that he ordered them to be printed,—*imprimi fecit, fet empremptar*. As he did the same thing in the case of the two books, in which the names of the actual printers—Hagenbach and Hutz—are given, it is more than probable

[1] *L.c.*, p. 121.

that they printed all the books bearing the name of Jaime de Vila. For some years Hagenbach is not mentioned again as a printer, but in 1498 he reappears at Toledo, where he probably issued not less than twenty-five books before 1504, many of which have been unknown to most of his biographers. During the first years he was at Toledo he printed almost all his books for Melchior Gorricio of Novara, one of the most famous among the early book-merchants of Spain. But from 1500 he was printing repeatedly for the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Ximenez. This has occasioned a rather curious confusion. Some of the productions executed at the command of Cardinal Ximenez bear on the title-pages a design which represents Saint Ildefonso receiving the casula from the hands of the Virgin, surmounted by a cross and crowned with the cardinal's hat. The border of the design, in the form of an escutcheon, bears the device : *Indui eum vestimento salutis. sacerdotes eius induam salutari.* This design has been regarded, by almost all the writers who have mentioned it, as the arms of Cardinal Ximenez. But this is undoubtedly an error. The arms of Cardinal Ximenez, as they are represented on the title of the Complutensian Polyglot, are quite different, viz., an escutcheon divided like a chess-board in red and white, crowned by the hat as a sign of his dignity. The representation of Saint Ildefonso, on the contrary, had been employed by Hagenbach, without the cardinal's hat indeed, at a very early date, and, as far as I know, for the first time on the title of the *Leyes del estilo*, finished Feb. 26th, 1498. A like representation of Saint Ildefonso is appended to the colophon of the Gutierrez, *Cura de la piedra*, of the same year, printed at the expense of Gorricio, and here there can be no doubt of its being the mark of the printer, who may have chosen the design in consequence of his intimate relations with the town and seat of the saint. Even the mark with the cardinal's hat appears in some productions which were not executed at the cardinal's command or cost, and I am of opinion that this, too, is nothing else than Hagenbach's mark, perhaps after he was named printer to his eminence the Cardinal Ximenez. If this is true, we may attribute to the same press those productions

Peter Hagenbach and Jaime de Vila.

Press at Monterey. Pasera, Porras, and Hans Gherling.

also, which bear no printer's name, but are adorned with the design just mentioned. Thus, the work of Hagenbach amounts to the numbers given above.

XXIII. 1494. Press of Rodrigo de la Pasera and Juan de Porras at Monterey.

The next among the Spanish printers in order of time are Gonzalo Rodrigo de la Pasera and Juan de Porras, who issued a *Missale Montis Regii*, Feb. 11, 1494, at Monterey. Rodrigo de la Pasera is never again mentioned, but Juan de Porras is a well-known person. His name first occurs in 1491, when, in company with Guido de Lavezaris, he issues an edition of the *Siete Partidas*, printed at Seville by Meinard Ungut and Stanislas Polonus. Various books were printed at his expense at Seville at different times, but they all bear the printers' names, and the Monterey book is the first which claims to have been printed by him. I doubt this being the actual fact, for both before and after 1494 Porras often appears as publisher, but never as printer or owner of a press till 1500. There is a veritable printer about the same time in the same locality, viz., Hans Gherling, mentioned before on account of his mysterious Barcelona book of "1468." As the books printed by him at Braga in December, 1494, and at Monterey in June, 1496, are of a religious character, printed for the clergy of the Cathedral of Braga, just as was the Missal of Pasera and Porras for the clergy of Monterey, I think it likely that in this case, as in several others, Porras was merely the publisher; that he received an order for a missal for the church at Monterey; that he engaged Gherling to print it, and then put his own name to the book, which in reality was printed by the German. Possibly an agreement of this kind subsisted for some time between them. In the year 1500 Juan de Porras established a press at Salamanca, from which issued several books, the latest being dated 1516. They are so few, however (I do not know of more than five), that this press cannot have been of much importance, and I am inclined to think that Hans Gherling,

whom Porras may have known at Monterey, accompanied him to Salamanca, and there printed the works passing under his name.

Diego de Gumiel at Barcelona, Valladolid, and Valencia.

XXIV. 1494. Press of Diego de Gumiel at Barcelona.

Two new presses were established in Barcelona in 1494 and 1495. The owner of the first is Diego de Gumiel, and his first work, the *Scala Dei* by Ximenes, was completed October 27, 1494. He was not, however, a very productive printer, having only issued four books up to his departure from Barcelona in 1499, and of these one was the *Tirant lo Blanc*, begun by Peter Michael. As Gumiel was a Castilian, being a native of a little place of that name near Aranda del Duero, he may only have gone to Barcelona to pass through his apprenticeship, for after 1500 he reappears in Castile, and is found for some time printing in Valladolid. So far as I can ascertain, he there printed seven books during the years 1503-1512. Mendez[1] states that he began as early as 1502 in Valladolid, but I have found no ground for this assertion. We meet with him again at Valencia, where he printed four books, before 1516, amongst which is the curious edition of Raymond Lull's *Ars inventiva veritatis*, which claims to have been completed *anno quinto decimo supra millesimum*, i.e., in 1015. In his Valladolid and Valencia books Gumiel uses a very pretty mark, a rectangular figure, in which his name appears in white letters on a black ground amongst ornamental plants and flowers.

XXV. 1495. Press of Preus and Luschner at Barcelona.

In 1495 two German printers began to work in conjunction at Barcelona, viz., Gerald Preus and Johann Luschner. During their partnership they only issued two books, and as Gerald Preus is not mentioned anywhere else, there is not much to be said about him. Perhaps Preus is not a patronymic, but only denotes his nationality,

[1] 2nd ed., p. 60.

Luschner at Montserrat.

i.e., that he was a Prussian. Luschner, in a work only referred to by Herr Volger,[1] which I have not been able to discover, states that he was a native of Lichtenberg, in Saxony, and we know little more of him. After having separated from his former partner he remained in Barcelona, where, besides another book, he printed a considerable number of Letters of Indulgences for the Monastery of Montserrat. His connection with the clergy of this monastery decided his future.

As early as December 28, 1498, we find Luschner established in the precincts of the monastery, and not alone, but with his whole staff, to the number of six. Their names are not all given in full in the printing accounts, but we may specify one Ulrich Belch, a native of Ulm, who seems to have formerly settled at Saragossa; one Heinrich Schirl (Enrich Squirol), a member of a family of German merchants, repeatedly met with in Catalonia; one Thomas, who made the ink; and three Johanns, amongst whom is the "*ans moco*," a Swiss, whom Mendez[2] and others called Juan Mock, whereas he is really only *Juan moço*, "a lad called John."

On Jan. 7, 1499, the contract was signed which formed the basis of the relations between the clergy and the printers. In it all details are noted, the salary of Luschner and his men, the obligations he entered into respecting the books to be printed, the sums for which the monastery acquired the printing materials (a valuable contribution to the history of prices), even the procuring of the paper necessary for the books. Here again we find the Germans the principal dealers in books and book-materials, and Luschner seems to have been on intimate terms with the principal purveyors of these articles in Barcelona, to whom he was able to give a considerable part of the commissions of this kind. All the paper and materials wanted were to be purchased, one-half from the Catalan merchants, Pedro Camps and Mosen Aguilar, the other half from the Germans, Franz Ferber and Johann Trincher. The best proof of the great estimation in which these Germans were held is the

[1] *L.c.*, p. 98.

[2] 2nd ed., p. 177.

fact that Franz Ferber, in company with the Barcelonese, Gabriel de Villamarichs, were to serve as appraisers if differences about the value of the materials arose between the clergy and the printers.

Supposed printers of the fifteenth century. Juan Gysser.

Luschner and his companions worked for more than a year and a half in the monastery, the latest of their productions bearing the date November 15, 1500. The number of books printed, as registered in the accounts, is very considerable, some issues being of 800, and one even of 1,000 copies. It is probable that of some of these books not one copy has survived, or at least has as yet been discovered. We know, however, of some thirteen different works printed in the monastery, *i.e.*, in the office of Luschner, during this time, besides some 200,000 copies of the special indulgences granted to the sanctuary.

Though Luschner earned a rather considerable salary during the time he was at Montserrat, he does not seem to have saved much, for when he returns to Barcelona, where he is printing again from 1501 to 1505, his press is not at all a productive one, and most of the books are printed at the expense of others. He must, however, have had a good reputation, for it is to him that a new edition of the Barcelonese *Consulado de mar* was entrusted in 1502, as well as the Commentary of Marquilles on the Usatici Barcinone, two works of a rather official character. It seems that neither at Montserrat nor at Barcelona did he ever use a mark.

XXVI. 1499. Press of Cristobal Cofman, Valencia.

For an account of this press see *supra*, p. 29.

Other printers are reported to have been at work in Spain during the fifteenth century, but on unsatisfactory evidence. It is possible that Giesser was printing at Salamanca in 1500, as stated in a memorial of the University of Salamanca, quoted by Hidalgo in his edition of Mendez.[1] Giesser certainly printed three books there in 1501, and we may owe to him some of the numerous

[1] P. 365.

Supposed printers of the fifteenth century. Alfonso d'Orta.

anonymous books executed at Salamanca before 1500. His total work up to 1509 amounts to seventeen dated volumes, and Mendez[1] claims to have seen a book by him dated 1520. Giesser used a mark, bearing the initials J. A., *i.e.*, Juan Aleman, as he styles himself sometimes in his colophons; in others he is more explicit, calling himself *maestre Juan gysser aleman de Silgenstadt*, a little town, which gave to the fifteenth century, as we have seen before, another printer. I believe that it is only this monogram of J. A. that has given rise to the astonishing statement that Juan de Junta should be numbered among the printers of *incunabula*. I have only met with this statement in the recent work of Herr Reichardt, but I am convinced that the misunderstanding is not his, but that he has found it elsewhere. The first productions of Junta's press at Salamanca, as far as I know, were issued in 1532; some years previously, in 1526, he published, and in 1528 even seems to have printed, books in the establishment at Burgos, but I have not found any reference of an earlier date relating to Juan de Junta, or any other of the name. It is remarkable that Junta really uses a mark bearing the letters J. A. as well at Burgos as at Salamanca, though these letters cannot be explained with reference to his origin, he being a native of Florence, as he states in his earliest productions. Perhaps there may have existed relations between the office of Giesser and that of the Juntas, the only trace of which remains in the adoption of these letters into the mark of the Juntas; but I am not able to prove this.

I still hesitate to acknowledge Alfonso d'Orta as a printer of the fifteenth century. He is reported to have printed at Valencia in 1496 an astronomical work of Hieronymus Torella; but the colophon of this book only states that it was composed in that year, and that it was printed by Orta. It is rather curious that there is another composition very much of the same kind printed in the same year by a magister Ortas at Leiria; but I am positive that this is not the same person as the Valencian printer. There

[1] 2nd ed., p. 23.

[2] *Beitraege zur Incunabelkunde*, p. 363.

was at Leiria during the last years of the fifteenth century a Hebrew press, directed by one Samuel Ortas and his son Abraham. Some five or six issues with Hebrew letters have issued from it, and there is scarcely any doubt that the master Ortas, who printed the *Zacuthus* of 1496, was the Jew Abraham Ortas son of Samuel, and not Alfonso de Orta, the asserted printer of Valencia. I have only found a Juan de Orta, at whose expense an edition of the famous comedy of *Calisto and Melibea*, otherwise called *La Celestina*, was printed in 1563; in this work Orta is styled *vecino de Cuenca*, but among the few printers of that locality in the sixteenth century there is no other member of the family. The question still remains unsolved, but there is no reason to suppose that the Torella, composed in 1496, was printed immediately afterwards.

Supposed printers of the fifteenth century. Gabriel Pou, Juan de Rei.

The first authority who quoted the *Virgilii Aeneidos libri XII.*, printed at Barcelona by Gabriel Pou, certainly confounded him with Pedro Posa, for he added in a note that Pou had practised from 1481 to 1495, whilst we do not know of any productions of his but this single book. Señor Hidalgo,[1] in his additions to Mendez, places the issue under the year 1485, though he confesses that the colophon bears *anno a nativitate domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinto.* These manifest errors have induced many writers to doubt of the existence of the book at all. The doubt, however, proves to be unfounded; the copy in the famous Grenville Library in the British Museum proving the accuracy of the ancient statements. However this may be, the issue is not to be numbered among Spanish *incunabula*. I do not know of one single example where the number *O* is changed for another, but there is more than one book of the commencement of the sixteenth century where the centennial number of the past century is preserved. Therefore, though I am not able to adduce any other production of the press of Gabriel Pou, I am sure that his Virgil was printed in 1505, and not in 1485 or 1495.

The case of Juan de Rei is different. He, too, is said to have

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia*, 2nd ed., p. 329.

Supposed printers of the fifteenth century. Villagusa.

produced a single book at Burgos in the year 1499, copies of which are not very rare. I myself have seen that of the Imperial Library of Vienna, but any student not wholly inexperienced in *incunabula* will at once acknowledge that this book was not printed in the fifteenth century. It is a forgery executed in the seventeenth century, a fact already stated by Volger[1] and others, and may be one of the earliest examples of a counterfeited fifteenth-century book. Only the fact that Hain, on secondhand references, has included it in his catalogue, justifies our mentioning it here at all.

It is otherwise with Jaime Villagusa. Father Ribas, formerly Librarian of the Monastery of Montserrat, who gave Mendez, when he was composing his *Typographia Española*,[2] notes of many of the rarest books he mentions, quoted a dissertation on the immaculate conception of the Virgin, by one Vincencio de Castronovo, printed *Hispali per Jacobum Villagusa MCCCCXCVIII.* Ribas is still the only authority as to the existence of such a book; for almost a century all the historians have quoted his testimony, but nobody has ever seen a copy of this rare work. That in such a centre of book-commerce as Seville there should have existed at the end of the fifteenth century a printing establishment from whence issued only one single work, and that this has remained totally unknown, is scarcely to be believed. I am more inclined to suppose that Jaime Villagusa, if his name is really the only one quoted in the colophon of the book, was rather the patron than the printer of it.

It is the same with the press which is said to have been established in the office of the Inquisition at Seville, and to which also one single book is credited in 1500. The original statement was made by Echard in his *Dominican Writers*, and has been repeated by all the subsequent historians of printing. It is almost certain that in this case the office of Inquisition was the patron only; even Herr Reichardt[3] directly attributes the work to Stanislas Polonus, who indeed alone shares with the *three companions* the

[1] *L.c.*, p. 99. [2] 2nd ed., p. 102. [3] *L.c.*, p. 367.

likelihood of having been the printer of the work. I do not know if Herr Reichardt has discovered a copy of the long-lost edition which gives him the right to be positive about the matter. I am very much inclined to think that he is correct. However, I do not venture to register this book among the work of Stanislas without farther proof.

Supposed printers of the fifteenth century. Carlos Amoros.

In his *Repertorium*, No. 16236, Hain quotes an edition of Ximenes, *De Amore Dei*, which bears the name of Carlos Amoros, but neither place nor date. The fact that Hain includes it in his work indicates that he considered it to have been printed before 1500. Such, however, is not the case. Charles Amoros, a native of Provence, was a very remarkable master printer in Barcelona in the first half of the sixteenth century, and died before 1554, as a book issued in that year bears the inscription : *en la officina de la viuda de Carlos Amorosa.* Gallardo[1] quotes a book printed by Amoros as early as 1509, but I have nowhere found the slightest indication which would authorize us in ascribing to the fifteenth century any undated work by him.

There is another so-called printer of *incunabula* whom I do not think is to be reckoned as one. In the Columbian Exhibition at Madrid[2] in 1892, were exhibited two or more copies of an edition of the *Ordenanzas Reales*, arranged by Diaz de Montalvo, which were described in the Catalogue as printed at Huete in 1484. The copy in the National Library at Madrid has even been expressly called the first book printed at Huete, but it is only necessary to read the entire colophon to be assured that there is no certainty of its having been printed at that place or date, for it runs : *acabose de escrevir en la ciudad de huehte a onze dias del mes de noviembre*, 1484, *i.e.*, the manuscript was finished on November 11, 1484, at Huete. This, however, is no proof that the book was printed at the same time or in that town. Furthermore, the colophon bears after the date the single word *Castro.* Without having seen the

[1] Vol. iv., p. 1158, No. 4409. Ximenes, Fr., *De la temor de Deu ain Virtus de justicia.* Barcelona, 1509.

[2] *Catalogo General. Sala XVII.*, No. 15 and No. 126.

The *Ordenanzas Reales* of "1484."

book myself I was of opinion that this might be the name of the printer. Pedro de Castro is a well-known typographer who settled about 1542 at Medina del Campo, after having practised a few years before in Salamanca. He might very well have been the printer of the so-called edition of Huete, which by others has been claimed for the presses at Zamora or Toledo. Castro's books frequently resemble *incunabula* in their lack of pagination and catchwords, and they have other peculiarities which are said to occur in the Huete edition. Up to the date 1484, and, indeed, till some time later, no Spanish books have any large printed initials, or if they have, such initials are very rudely executed; but the Huete edition is remarkable for the metal-cut initials, representing scenes and persons adapted to the subject of each chapter, and similar initials are to be found in another edition of these same *Ordenanzas*, issued with the name of Castro at Medina del Campo, November 3, 1542. Moreover, it is not correct that the book is without pagination, the first eighty leaves of the first book being numbered, and the remainder alone being not so. This irregular or defective pagination is, as I have already said, of frequent occurrence in Castro's productions. Mr. Pollard, however, who had the opportunity of examining the copy in the British Museum, is of a different opinion, and thinks that the book is really printed during the time of *incunabula*. In this case Castro may have been the name of the notary who legalized the copy printed or to be printed, as it often occurs in law-books. At all events, the lack of any production of a press at Huete gravely militates against its being printed there, a supposition which even among Spaniards has not found many supporters, Perez Pastor[1] claiming the book for the press of Toledo.

There are some other Spanish towns which have claimed to have possessed printing establishments in the fifteenth century, but it is not difficult to refute them. The claims of Soria and Madrid have been mentioned already in this paper in referring to the

[1] *La imprenta en Toledo*, p. 5.

Soria book of Bartolome de Lila, and the law-books of Fernando de Jaen and of Maestre Pedro of 1499. That the Tolosa books, which Caballero[1] and Mendez[2] attributed to Tolosa de Guipuzcoa, have been executed at Toulouse, has been proved by Señor Hidalgo,[3] who first noted the existence of a *Boecio de consolacion* printed by *Maestre Enrique mayer aliman* at Tolosa de Francia. It is only by conclusions drawn from literary references that Diosdado Caballero credited Jerez and Segorbe with *incunabula* printing presses.[4] It is to be regretted that Hain and all who followed his authority have accepted these suggestions which Caballero himself uttered with the cautious addition: *ni eius* (*Ximenii*) *verba perverse intelligo*.

Supposed fifteenth century presses.

The claims of Medina del Campo are even less founded, and the recent historian of its typography[5] has done well to dismiss them at once. The only foundation for supposing that a press existed at Medina is a copy of an edition of the *Celestina*, which has been attributed to this place, and presents on the last leaf a printer's mark bearing the year 1499. This mark proves to be that of Friedrich Biel (Fadrique de Basilea), but there is not the slightest evidence that this printer ever practised in Medina del Campo. Moreover, we know that he used this mark, with the number 1499, not only during this year, but at least till 1501 in the books he issued at Burgos. Finally it appears that the leaf, bearing the printer's mark, can hardly have originally belonged to the volume where it is now found, for it is a supernumerary one, all the sections being complete without it. Thus the whim of an amateur of ancient books, who appended a pretty mark to one of his precious volumes, which perhaps he thought contemporary, has given rise to quite a legend in the history of printing. *Habent sua fata libelli.*

A printing press has been attributed to Jaen solely on account

[1] *De prima typographiae Hispanicae aetate specimen*, 2nd ed., pp. 86, 89, 94.
[2] 2nd ed., p. 156 ss.
[3] *Boletin bibliografico*, 1860, p. 8.
[4] *L.c.*, pp. 60 and 53.
[5] Perez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. ix.

Imaginary fifteenth century editions.

of a book which was composed there, very much as in the case of Huete. This is an edition of the Treatise *de differentiis* by Pedro Da Gui, which bears the inscription : *Finitus hic liber de differentiis editus a Magistro Petro Dagui in urbe Giennensi anno a nativitate Domini* 1500, *die vero* 20 *mensis maii.* It is probably this same edition which is mentioned before as printed at Seville by Stanislas Polonus, together with the *Metaphysica* of the same author, finished June 22, 1500.

I could considerably augment my list of Spanish *incunabula*, if I added to it all the books reported without indication of printer, though place and date are given, and many more still if I repeated the quotations of so-called *incunabula* in which place and date too are missing, and which are so numerous in Mendez, Hain, and others. Wherever I have been able to attribute books of the kind to a certain printer by their mark, by a comparison of the founts, or by other circumstances, I have perhaps been rather too prone to do so. But I hesitate to repeat the quotations of others where I am not able to verify them. Many of the books mentioned by Hain as printed without indication of typographer have proved to bear their names in full ; others are certainly erroneous, and only a limited number of books remain that are sufficiently well described for us to trust them not to bear any more marks of their origin. A comparison of the types, if made systematically, would certainly remove many doubts and considerably diminish the number of *incunabula* of dubious origin ; but it is a difficult task even on the spot, *i.e.*, in Spain, and almost impossible in foreign countries. For the purpose of the statistics of Spanish *incunabula*, I have registered below those dated *incunabula*, of which copies are quoted by reliable authorities. Of course this list will prove to be deficient in more than one way, but I prefer to give it as it is rather than to neglect all these productions of ancient printing and of ancient literary aspirations.

We find then that printing was practised in Spain before 1500 at twenty-five different places. The first of these was certainly Valencia, where, as in fourteen other towns, German craftsmen

established the first presses. But the greatest printing activity was not to be found there, this glory being due to Seville, the great centre of Spanish commerce, and there the first, though not the really productive printers, were Spaniards, as in thirteen other places. Of the remaining two presses, Salamanca and San Cucufate, we are not able to say who were the introducers of printing into them as none of the early productions bears a printer's name. We find that forty-seven different persons during this period were practising throughout the Peninsula, who, by migrating from one place to another, and by uniting and separating from each other, formed sixty distinct printers' firms, fifteen printers with sixteen firms being natives, thirty-two printers with forty-two firms being foreigners, whilst two firms are formed by the conjunction of a Spanish printer with a foreigner. Summary.

The preponderance of the foreign printers is still more clearly seen if we consider the respective number of productions. The total number of *incunabula* registered in this paper amounts to 446. Of these, seventy-three cannot be attributed with certainty to any printer, as they merely bear the name of the place where they were issued. Sixty-four only are due to the fifteen Spanish printers, giving an average output for each printer of four to five issues. Two hundred and ninety-nine books, on the contrary, have been printed by the foreign craftsmen, so that their average output is about double that of the Spaniards. The remaining four are produced by the joint efforts of a native and a foreign typographer.

Viewed from a literary point, the 446 issues give a very remarkable result. Almost one half of all the Spanish *incunabula* is of a theological character, their number amounting to 217, and even among the thirty-three philosophical issues there are some which might as well be considered theological. Forty-five issues are of laws and jurisprudence, thirty-three are historical, some of them indeed are rather of the nature of novels, and sixty books are real novels or poems. Among the remaining there are twenty-nine of grammar, fifteen of medicine, the rest pertaining to music, geography, astronomy, mathematics, and heraldry.

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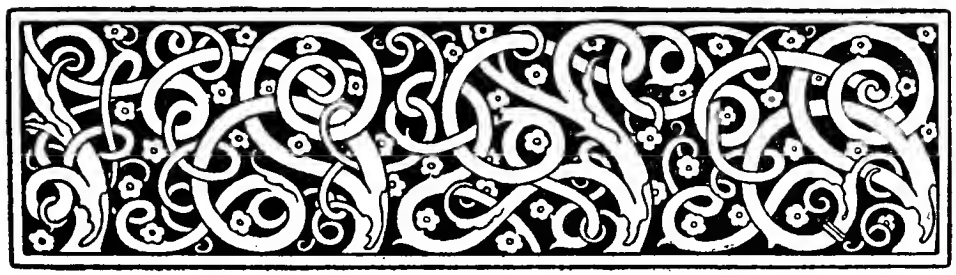
NOTE.

THE work of every printer is registered under the same heading, though he may have printed at different places. Only the *incunabula* hitherto unknown, or which have never been fully described, are set forth here after the fashion of *Hain;* all others are only mentioned, as in Dr. Burger's *Index*. Notes, necessarily incomplete, of the libraries in which the books are to be found are added for the use of those who desire further information. The fullest description is always quoted first, mere references being omitted, except in the case of those given by Hain. Titles of books of the sixteenth century are printed in italics.

The following abbreviations, with others which need no explanation, are used in the notes of libraries: B. (Biblioteca or Bibliothèque), Ac. (de la Academia), Col. (Colegial), Colomb. (Colombiana, *i.e.* the Columbus Library at Seville), Ep. (Episcopal), I. (Impériale), N. (Nacional), Prov. (Provincial), R. (Real), U. (Universitaria), and V. (de Ville).



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Barcelona, 1468, oct. 7. Mates, Bart. Pro condendis orationibus libellus.

B. Ac. Barcelona. — Salvá vol. ii. p. 432. Mendez-Hid. p. 262.

Braga, 1494, dec. 12. Breviarium Braccarense.

B. N. Lisbon. — Hain 3809.

Collation[1]: (Title missing.) End, fol. ss_{12}: Impressuʒ est hoc opus breuia || rii in augusta Bracharēsi ciuita- || te hispaniaruʒ primate: per magi || strum Johānem gherlinc alema- || num impensis petri de barzena. || Anno salutis christiane. M.cccc. || lxxxxiiii. die. xii. Decembris. || 4°.

G. L. ff. 328 (unnumbered) 2 coll. 40 ll. sigs. y^6, a-f^8, A-N^8, O^{12}, aa-rr^8, ss^{12}. O 12 blank.

Monterey, 1496, june 10. Manuale sacramentorum.

Hain 10734.

I. LAMBERT PALMART AT VALENCIA.

Roman Types.

s.l.e.a. Fenollar, Les obres e trobes.

B. N. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. — Salvá i. p. 140. Hain 6966. Reprinted 1895, with a tolerably well executed facsimile of one page.

1475, febr. 23. Johannes, Comprehensorium.

B. N. Madrid. B. N. Paris. B. U. Valencia. B. Prov. Caceres. B. Prov. Saragossa. — Salvá ii. p. 432. Mendez-Hid. p. 31, no. 3. Hain 5591.

[1] Note obtained from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

I. Lambert Palmart.

1475, july 13. Sallustius, Bellum Jugurthinum.

B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. B. U. Valencia. — Salvá 2789. Hain 14202.

1477, aug. 18. Thomas Aquinas, Tertia pars summae.

B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 33, no. 5. Hain 1468[a].

Collation[1]: a_1 missing. a_2: Q VIA SALVA || tor nr̃ dñs ih's xp̃s || teste ãgelo popu || luʒ suũ saluũ faci || ẽs a peccatis eoꝝ || viã veritat' nobis || ĩ se ip̃o demõstra || uit ꝑ quaʒ ad bea || titudinẽ ĩmortalis vite resurgẽdo ꝑuenire || &c. fol. 199 (z_3) *verso*, col. 2: Finit felicit' t'cia ꝑs sum̃e scī thome de aqno || imp̃ssa Valẽtie ꝑ magistrũ Lãbertũ palmart || Alemanũ. Anno. M.CCCC.Lxxvii. die || ⁄o. xviii. mensis Augusti. fol. ff. 204 (unnumbered). 2 coll. 54 ll. sig. a-z in eights and tens.

s.l.e.a. Rabbi Samuel, Epistola.

Now in B. M. *Not* Spanish. — Salvá 3991.

s.l.e.a. Datus, Elegantiolae.

B. Prov. Toledo.

Collation[2]: a_1 [C]redimus jam dudum &c. d_7: ad exercitationem accomoda. Vale. Finis elegãtiaꝝ Augustini dati. 4°. ff. 32 (last blank, unnumbered). 27 ll. sig. a-d, in eights.

ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE CORDOBA.

1477, s.d. Antoninus de Florentia, Summula confessionis.

B. U. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 322, no. 2.

ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE CORDOBA AND LAMBERT PALMART.

1477, febr.-1478, march. Biblia Valenciana.

No copy known, only four leaves, in the archives of the Cathedral at Valencia. — Mendez p. 33, no. 6. Hain 3159.

LAMBERT PALMART (*continued*).

Gothic Types.

1482, march 18. Mela, Cosmografia.

B. Prov. Toledo. — Floranes, Apuntamientos. apud Mendez-Hid. p. 293. Hain 11018.

Collation[2]: a_1: Pōponii melle cosmographi de situ orbis a_1 verso: [O]rbis sitũ dicere aggredior &c. f_8 verso: atque atlãtici littoris terminus. Impressum

[1] Note obtained from M. Leopold Delisle, Paris.

[2] Notes obtained from Señor Julio Gonzalez Hernandez, Toledo.

est hoc opusculum in ciuitate valentie per Lambertū palmart alemanū XVIII die mensis marcii. Laus Deo. Anno MCCCCLXXXII. 4°. ff. 48 (unnumbered). 27 ll. sig. a-f in eights. I. Lambert Palmart.

1482, april 4. Furs e ordinacions de Valencia.

B. U. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. — Salvá 3679.

1483, jan. 29. Ximenez, Libre appellat Crestia.

Bodley. B. N. Madrid. B. Ac. Hist. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 34, no. 8.

1484, jan.-march 15. Ximenez, Regimen de princeps.

Bodley. B. N. Madrid. B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 34, no. 9. Hain-Copinger 16242.[1]

1484, s.d. Jacobus de Valentia, Tractatus contra Judaeos.

B. Prov. Toledo. B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 35, no. 11.

1484, s.d. Jacobus de Valentia, Expositio in Cantica ferialia.

B. Prov. Toledo. B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 3468.

1484, sept. 6. Jacobus de Valentia, Commentum in libros psalmorum.

B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. B. U. Valencia. B. Prov. Palma. B. Prov. Saragossa. — Salvá 3970. Hain 12597.

1485, jan. 11. Jacobus de Valentia, Expositio super Te Deum.

B. V. Perpignan. B. Prov. Burgos. B. Prov. Toledo. B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 36, no. 12. Hain 12599.

1485, march. Jacobus de Valentia, Expositio super Magnificat, Benedictus &c.

B. V. Perpignan. — Gallardo 3467. Hain 12599.

1486, febr. 2. Diez, Sacratissima Concepcion.

Gallardo 2046. Hain 6163.

Printed without Palmart's name in the "casa de la loable confraria de la gloriosa senyora nuestra."

1486, may 19. Jacobus de Valentia, Expositio in canticum canticorum.

Brit. Mus. B. R. Madrid. B. V. Perpignan. B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 4138. Hain 12592.

[1] The works quoted by Hain 16238 and 16240, Ximenez, de vita christiana s. Christi, are probably identical with this.

I. Lambert Palmart.

Mendez and Hain 12591 mention an edition of 1484, may 19, which is probably the same; I doubt those of 1494, 1495, 1496 Hain 12595.

1486, nov. 7. Officium b. Mariae virginis.
B. Ep. Valencia. — Heredia 87. Hain 11989.

1487, april 14. Diez, Sacratissima Conceptio.
Salvá 301 (2).

1488, feb. 26. Diez, Orationes ad laudem purissimae conceptionis.
Gallardo 2047.

1490, april 15. Fuster, Omelia sobre lo psalm de profundis.
B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 324, no. 4.

II. MATTHEW OF FLANDERS AT SARAGOSSA AND BARCELONA.

Saragossa, 1475, oct. 15. Guido de Monte Rotherii, Manipulus curatorum.
B. N. Madrid. B. Prov. Saragossa. — Mendez-Hid. p. 62, no. 2. Hain 8174.
Only this book bears the name of Matthew; not the following ones.

1478, june 16. Ben. de Parentinis, Expositio missae.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 63, no. 3. Hain 12418.

1481. Rodrigo, Espejo de la vida humana.
Mendez-Hid. p. 65, no. 5. Probably 1491, P. Hurus.

1482, nov. 12. Joh. de Turrecremata, Expositio in psalmos.
B. N. Lisbon. B. Prov. Saragossa. — Mendez-Hid. p. 65, no. 6. Hain 15706.

s.a. Rubricae observantiarum regni Aragonum.
Mendez-Hid. p. 64, no. 4.

Barcelona, 1484, apr. 17. Alfonso de la Torre, Visio delectable.
Mendez-Hid. p. 50, no. 15. Hain 15555.

GERONA PRESSES.

(*a*) MATTHAEUS VENDRELL, A DESPESES DE. [VII. *bis.*]

1483, nov. 17. Malla, Memorial del peccador remut.
B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 132. Hain 10548.

(*b*) JUAN DE VALDES. [XXV. *bis.*]

1497, nov. 9. Flors de virtuts e de costums.
B. U. Barcelona. — Volger p. 100.

(*c*) [BALTASAR ANELLA.]

[1501, oct. 13. *Estrus, Cobles molt devotes a honor de N. S. deu.*
B. Col. Seville. — Gallardo 2152.]

III. ANTONIO MARTINEZ, ALONSO DEL PUERTO, AND BARTOLOMÉ SEGURA AT SEVILLE.

1477. Diaz de Montalvo, Repertorium super abbatem Panormitanum.
B. N. Madrid. B. Prov. Burgos. — Escudero p. 58. Gallardo 2006. Hain-Copinger. 11568.

1477, aug. 1. Sanchez de Vercial, Sacramental.
B. Escorial. — Escudero p. 59. Gall. 3850. Hain 15953.

1478, may 23 (not 28). [Another edition.]
B. N. Lisbon. B. Escorial. — Escudero p. 60. Gall. 3851. Hain 15954.

BARTOLOMÉ SEGURA AND ALONSO DEL PUERTO.

1480. Werner Rolewink, Fasciculus temporum.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Seville. B. Prov. Toledo. — Escudero p. 62. Gall. 637. Hain 6927.

ALONSO DEL PUERTO.

1482, s.d. Valera, Cronica de España.
B. N. Paris. — Salvá 3204. Hain-Copinger 15766.

ANTONIO MARTINEZ.

III. Antonio Martinez. 1486, febr. 20 (not 1485). Cavalca, Espejo de la cruz.
B. N. Madrid. — Escud. 10. Mendez-Hid. p. 86, no. 15. Hain 4791.

LAW BOOKS, WITHOUT PLACE OR DATE OF ISSUE.

Leyes fechas en las cortes de Toledo. 1480,[1] june 15.
B. Prov. Toledo. — Pastor pag. 4.

Sentencia real de D. Fernando en la primera cort de Barcelona. 1481,[1] nov. 5.
B. M. — Salvá 3641, 2.

Quaderno de alcabalas. 1484,[1] march 18.
One or more editions prior to that mentioned below must have existed. See colophon of next mentioned.

The same, with Cedula of february 21, 1485, legalized Cordoba, april 9, 1485.
B. R. Munich.
Collation : f. I. Este es traslado del quaderno delas alcaualas del rrey ꝛ la rre || yna nr̃os señores El qual se traslado ꝛ saco d' otro traslado q̃ fue || sacado del mesmo q̃derno original por fernãdo de moncayo escri || uano apostolico publico ꝛ escriuano d' camara delos dc̃hos señ || res rrey ꝛ rreyna que es escripto en papel ꝛ signado de su signo || segund q̃ por el pareçia el tenor del qual dicho traslado bien ꝛ || fielmente sacado es este que se sigue. &c. fol. (60) recto : E yo fernando de moncayo alias d' belmõte notario publico apo || stolico ꝛ escriuano de camara del rrey ꝛ rreyna nr̃os señores ꝛ su || notario publico enla su corte ꝛ en todos los sus rreynos ꝛ señ- || rios q̃l sobre dicho traslado d' quaderno de alcaualas *escripto de* || *letra de molde* en uno cõlos dh̃os testigos con su v'dadero origi || nal concerte y corregi. El q̃l va *escripto en quarẽta ꝛ siete fojas* || *de papel d' pligo en*tero con esta en que va mi signo ꝛ en fin d' cada || plana va rrubricado ꝛ señalado d'la señal de mi firma. E las emi || endas ꝛ adiciões d'l sobre dh̃o traslado estã escriptas dela sobre || dicha letra d' molde en fin deste q̃derno. E estãdo ocupado de o- || tros negoçios las sobre dh̃as emiẽdas ꝛ adiciones por otra ꝑso || na bien ꝛ fielmẽte fize escreuir ꝛ poner en sus logares ꝛ lo signe || ꝛ firme de mi signo ꝛ nõbre acostũbrados en fe ꝛ testimonio de || verdad rrogado ꝛ rrequerido.|| Fernando de moncayo notario publico

[1] Date of legalization.

apostolico ꝛ rreal. — fol. — G. L. ff. 60, of which the first half are numbered I-XXX, 34, 35 ll. The text of the Quaderno does not end at the 47th leaf, therefore it is not the original Moncayo edition. Law Books.

The same, legalized again at Zamora, december 12, 1486 (37 leaves). See below: Centenera, Alonso de.

Quaderno de las leyes nuevas de la hermandad. 1486,[1] july 7.
B. U. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 410, no. 45.

Quaderno nuevo de alcabalas. 1491,[1] dec. 10. See below: Sevilla, M. Ungut and Stanislas Polonus, at the end.

Interpretacion de la sentencia real del año 1481. 1493,[1] nov. 3.
Salvá vol. ii. p. 688, no. 3641 (3).

Leyes hechas por la brevedad e orden de los pleitos. 1499,[1] may 21. With privilege for Fernando de Jaen, librero.
B. I. Vienna. — Mendez-Hid. p. 161 and 180-1.

The same, with privilege for maestre Pedro, imprimidor de libros de molde.
B. R. Munich. — Hain 6971. Mendez-Hid. p. 180.

Capitulos de corregidores y jueces de residencia. 1500,[1] june 9.
Mendez-Hid. p. 395.

The same; with privilege for "maestre Garcia de la Torre, librero, vecino de Toledo é Alonso Lorenzo, librero."
Mendez-Hid. p. 308.

Prematica sancion para los perayles. 1500,[1] sept. 15.
Mendez-Hid. p. 408, no. 42.

IV. SPINDELER AND BRUN, THEIR PARTNERS AND SUCCESSORS.

NICOLAUS SPINDELER AND PEDRO BRUN.

Tortosa, 1477, june 16. Perottus, Rudimenta grammaticae.
Volger p. 117.

[1] Date of legalization.

Barcelona, 1478, june 15. S. Thomas Aquinas, Comentarios sobre los libros ethicorum.

B. N. Madrid. — Mendez p. 47, no. 5. Hain 1514[a].

1478, dec. 19. S. Thomas Aquinas, Comentarii in libros politicorum.

Mendez p. 47, no. 6. Hain 1514[b].

PEDRO POSA AND PEDRO BRUN.

Barcelona, 1481, july 16. Curtius Rufus, Vida del Rey Alexandre.

B. N. Paris. B. U. & B. Ep. Barcelona. B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 2172. Hain 5890.

1481, sept. 3. Vergerius, De ingenuis moribus.

B. V. Toulouse.

Collation[1]: f. 1 blank. f. 2: De ĩgenuis morib⁹ liberalibusq; stu || diis' et de liberis educandis per cla/ || rissimum virum Petrum paulũ ver/ || geriũ iustinopolitanuʒ ad Ubertinũ || de carraria incipit feliciter. &c. f. 48 verso: Dei gratia presens op⁹ Barchinone || tertia septembris. M. cccc. lxxxi. per || Petrum posa et Petrum bru socios || finita feliciter fuit. f. 49: register. f. 50: blank. 4°. G. L. ff. 50. 17 ll.

1481, sept. 13. Lull, Ars brevis.

B. U. Barcelona. — Hain 10321.

PEDRO BRUN AND JUAN GENTIL.

Sevilla, 1492, june 30. Mejia, Nobiliario.

Brit. Mus. B. I. Vienna. B. R. Dresden. B. Ste Geneviève Paris. B. Prov. Toledo &c. — Escudero 25. Hain 11133.

PEDRO BRUN.

Sevilla, 1499, aug. 25. Ystoria del noble Vespasiano.

Brit. Mus. — Gallardo 1269.

NICOLAUS SPINDELER.

Barcelona, 1479, aug. 31. Guido de Monte Rotherii, Manipulus curatorum.

B. San Isidro, Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 328, no. 1.

1480, nov. 2. Aegidius de Columna, Regiment dels princeps.

B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 3987. Hain 110.

[1] Note obtained from Mdlle. M. Pellechet, Paris.

1482, april 1. Josephus, Antiguedades.
Mendez-Hid. p. 49, no. 11.

Tarragona, 1484, aug. 3. Guido de Monte Rotherii, Manipulus curatorum.
B. Ep. Tarragona. — Volger p. 116. [Without printer's name: Mendez-Hid. p. 62.]

Valencia, 1490, nov. 20. Martorell, Tirant lo Blanch.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Valencia. — Volger p. 120. Gallardo 1217. Hain 10861. Printer's name on border.

1494, july 25. Miguel Perez, Vida de la verge Maria.
B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 324, no. 6.

1496, s.d. Leonardus Aretinus, Phalaridis epistulae.
Bodley. B. N. Paris. B. U. Goettingen. B. U. Cagliari. — Hain 12899.
Collation: fol. (a_1) Epistole || phallaridi^{s}. ||. fol. a_2: Francisci aretini In phallaridis tira || ni agrigētini epistolas ad illustrem prin || cipem Malatestam nouellum de Mala/ || testis: prohemium. || Incipit || fol. h_{10} recto: Phalaridis tyranni agrigentini epistole ad il || lustrem Principem Malatestam: per Franciscum || aretinuʒ translate: feliciter expliciunt. Impresse || valencie: per Nicolaum spindeler alamanū. Anno || a partu virginis. M.cccc. nonagesimo sexto. die ve-|| ro vndecimo mensis nouembris. 4°. G. L. ff. 66. 18 ll. sigs. a-g 8, h 10.

1499, july 24. Vinyoles, Omelia sobre lo psalm miserere.
B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 325, no. 9. Salvá 2775 note.

1500, febr. 4. Vilanova, Notes ordenades, s. Rudimenta grammatices.
B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 326, no. 11. Gallardo 4294.

[*Barcelona*, 1501, s.d. *Tornarius Opusculum.*
B. Col. Sevilla. — Gallardo 4041.]

[*Valencia*, 1505, s.d. *Villanova, Antidotarium clarificatum.*
B. Prov. Toledo.
Bears the date: "anno dominice incarnationis millesimo quadringentesimo quinto."]

[1506. *Jacobus de Valentia, Exposicion de los psalmos.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 58.]

Valencia, s.a. Aug. Dattus, Elegantiole.
B. Prov. Toledo. B. San Juan, Barcelona. — Volger p. 120.

IV. Pedro Posa. s.l.e.a. S. Bernardus, Epistola de regimine domus.

B. U. Cagliari.

Collation[1]: fol. (a_1) Epistola || beati Bernardi de regimine domus. fol. a_2: Epistola beati Bernardi. directa Ray || mundo domino castri sancti ambrosi: de modo et cura rei familiaris.|| Feliciter incipit.|| fol. a_6: Quib^9 abiectis bibat doloris calicē || quē optauit. Ad quem eam ꝑducat sua miserabilis || senectus. ¶ Per Nicolaum spindeler.|| 4°. G. L. ff. 12. 18 ll. sig. a_1-a_{III}. With woodcuts of the Annunciation and Nativity.

[NICOLAUS DE SAXONIA.]

Lisbon, 1495, aug. 14-1496, may 14. Ludolfus, Vita Christi. See below: Fernandez, Valentin.

1496, june 20. Missale Bracarense.

Hain 11270.

1497, may 31. Breviarium Compostellanum.

B. N. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 144, no. 8.

1498, june 20. Missale Bracarense.

Hain 11271.

PEDRO POSA.

Barcelona, 1482, s.d. Gerson, Imitacio de Jesu Christ.

B. N. Paris.

Collation[2]: fol. (1). Title: De la imitacio de Jesuchrist || e del menyspreu del mon.|| verso: A la illustre dona Isabel de billena abadessa del mo || nestir de la trinitat de valencia scriu Miquel perez.|| fol. (11) (L)Ibre primer de mestre || Johan gerson canceller || de Paris dela imitacio || de iesuchrist e del menyspreu de || aquest mon, esplanat de lati en || valenciana lengua perlo mag- || nifich en Miquel perez ciutada. fol. cviii. verso: Deo gracias. Stampat en Bar- || celona. Any mil.cccc.lxxxii. Per || Pere posa.|| 4°. G. L. ff. 108, num: (I)-cviii. sig. a-o.

1482, s.d. Sanct Climent, Suma de la art arithmetica.

B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez p. 50, no. 13. Hain 5471.

Collation[3]: f. 1. (A) Laor e gloria de deu e de la || humil verge Maria mare sua co || mença lo libre appellat suma || de la art de Arismetica. Lo q̃l ||

[1] Note obtained from Señor A. Capra, B. U. Cagliari.
[2] Note obtained from M. Leopold Delisle, Paris.
[3] Note obtained from Señor J. M. de Santisteban, Palma.

divisirem en 15. parts. çoes en nombrar || &c. f. 136: Stampada fon la present obra en Bar || celona per. Pere posa prevere en lany || Mil quatrecents vytanta dos.|| 4°. G. L. ff. 136. 25, 26 ll. sig. a-r⁸. IV. Pedro Posa.

1482, s.d. Vida e transit de S. Jeronimo.

Mendez p. 49, no. 12. Hain 8653. Probably erroneous; see below 1492.

1482, s.d. Physica pauperum.

Reichardt, Beitraege zur Incunabelnkunde, p. 173.

1482, s.d. (?) Dagui, Janua artis Raimundi Lullii.

B. N. Madrid. Catalogo General de la Exposicion Europea. Sala XVII. no. 101.

1482, aug. 22. Lull, Arbor scientiae.

B. N. Brussels. B. N. Paris. B. Prov. Palma. — Hain 10318.

Collation[1]: f. 1: Incipit liber diuinalis vo- || catus arbor scientie / editus || a reuerendissimo doctore ma-/ || gistro Raymundo lull. In || quo fere omnium scientiarū || traditur notitia.||. colophon f. 290 verso: Deo dante Arbor scientie reueren- || dissimi magistri Raymundi lull p̃ || sens opus nuncupatum in no- || bili ciuitate Barchinone p || Petrum posa prebiterū [*sic*]|| et cathalanum. xxii.|| Augusti añi. M.||.cccc.lxxxii. cor||rectissime fi-||deliterq;||cōple-||tuz|| fuit. Deo || gra || tias || amen|| fol. G. L. ff. 290. num: 1-290. 2 coll. 39 ll. without sig.

1488, s.d. (?) Dagui, Janua artis R. Lulli.

Mendez p. 50, no. 16. Hain 10323.

1489, s.d. (?) Lull, Ars brevis.

B. U. Barcelona. — Mendez p. 50, no. 17. Hain 10322.

1489, s.d. Dagui, Metaphysica s. opus divinum.

Mendez p. 50, no. 18. Hain 8149. sine typogr.

1489, s.d. Lull, Logica abbreviata.

B. U. Barcelona. — Volger p. 96, Mendez-Hid. p. 58. s.l.e.a.

1490, s.d. Stephanus Arnaldus, Commentum super Nicolaum.

B. U. Barcelona. — Volger p. 96.

1491, s.d. Cijar, Opusculum tantum quinque.

B. U. Madrid. B. Prov. Palma. — Gallardo 1820. Mendez-Hid. p. 329, no. 5.

[1] Note obtained from M. Fetis, Brussels.

IV. Pedro Posa.

1492, s.d. Vida e transit de S. Jeronimo.

B. U. Valencia.

Collation[1]: f. (1-4) Tabla. f. I. (L)a vida e trāsit del glo || rios sant Jeronim doc || tor e illuminador de sā || ta mare ecglesia. || Interpretacio del nom ieronimus. || &c. f. CLII. Jesus. Maria. Jeronim || Disponent deu fon stampada a || questa obra en Barcelona lany || mil cccc lxxxxii. per Pere posa. 8°. G. L. ff. (4) 152. numbered I.-CLII. 27 ll.

1494, july 14. Consolat del mar.

B. N. Paris. B. U. Cagliari. — Hain 5646.

1495, dec. 5. Eximenes, Pastorale.

B. U. Salamanca. — Gallardo 4408. Hain 16234. (sine typogr.)

1496, sept. 28. Eximenes, Llum de la vida christiana.

Mendez p. 56, no. 37.

1499, s.d. Bernardus, Meditationes.

B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 331, no. 11.

1499, s.d. (not 1489). Lotharius Levita, De vilitate conditionis humanae.

B. U. Barcelona. B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 331, no. 12. Hain 10219.

1499, nov. 20. Albertus Magnus, Liber quesits ò perquens.

B. Ac. Hist. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. — Mendez p. 58, no. 43.

Collation[1]: f.(I) Quesits f. II. Començan los quesits o perquens del re || uerent mestre Albert gran del orde de fra || res predicadors e Archebisbe de Colūya mestre en ars e en sa || cra theologia e episcopb excellentissim. En lo qual libre declara || marauellosos secrets &c. f. CVIII. fon stāpada la present obra en Barcelona: per Pere posa.|| E acabada a XX de Noembre Any. M. cccc. lxxxxix. 8°. G. L. ff. 108. num: (I)-CVIII. 32 ll.

[1501, s.d. *Lull, Ars generalis ultima.*

B. Ep. Barcelona. — Volger p. 96.]

[1518, july 3. *Calicio, Extravagatorium curiarum.*

Gallardo 1538.]

[1518, sept. 28. *Fenollar, Hystoria de la passio.*

Gallardo 2171.]

[1] Notes obtained from Señor J. Casañ y Alegre, Valencia.

[s.a. *Dagui, Tractatus formalitatum.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 59.]

[s.a. *Historia de los amors e vida del cavaller Paris e de la infanta Viena.*
Gallardo 1016.]

[s.l.e.a. et typogr. *Calicio, Tractatus de pace et treugas et de sono emisso.*
B. Colomb. — Arbolí vol. ii. p. 10.]

V. HENRIQUE BOTEL AT LERIDA.

1479, aug. 16. Breviarium Ilerdense.
Bodley. B. U. Barcelona. — Mendez-Hid. p. 111, no. 2. Hain 3848.

1485, aug. 13. Dattus, Elegantiole.
B. V. Toulouse. — Mendez-Hid. p. 111, no. 3.

1485, oct. 25. Mayronis, Editiones in cathegorias Porphyrii.
B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 355, no. 1.

1488, aug. 12. Castrovol, Commentarii in libros de generatione—de caelo et mundo—meteorum—de anima.
Hain 4648-51.
These four issues were reprinted, or rather republished, in the edition of 1489, nov. 12.

1489, april 2. Castrovol, Commentum super libros ethicorum.
B. N. Madrid. B. Col. Sevilla. B. Prov. Burgos. B. Prov. Palma. — Arbolí vol. ii. p. 60.

1489, nov. 12. Castrovol, Opus super totam philosophiam naturalem Aristotelis.
B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí vol. ii. p. 61. Hain 4652-53.

1495, nov. 5. Vercial, Lo sagramental arromançat.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Cagliari. — Salvá 3992 note.

s.l.e.a. Ordinarius secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Illerdensis.
B. Prov. Lerida. — Exposicion historico-europea. Catalogo General. Sala XX. no. 443.

VI. SALAMANCA.

LEONHARD HUTZ AND LUPUS SANZ.

1496, jan. 8. Villadiego, contra hereticam pravitatem.
Brit. Mus. B. Prov. Burgos. — Gallardo 4297.

1496, febr. 26. S. Thomas, Super Aristotelis de generatione.
Mendez-Hid. p. 360, no. 6.

With the Founts of Hutz and Sanz.

Lucena, s.l.e.a. Repeticion de amores y arte de ajedres.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 411, no. 47. Hain 10254.

ANONYMOUS SALAMANCA BOOKS.

Gothic Characters.

1481, jan. 16. Nebrissensis, Introductiones latinae.
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 2630. Hain 11685.

1482, oct. 13. Another edition.
B. Prov. Toledo. — Mendez-Hid. p. 113, no. 6. Hain 11686.

1485, march 1. Torres, Eclipse del sol.
Gallardo 4072. Hain 15561.

1492, s.d. Nebrissensis, Vocabularium latino-hispanicum.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 2349 note. Hain 11683.

1492, aug. 18. Nebrissensis, Grammatica castellana.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. B. Prov. Caceres. B. Prov. Toledo. — Heredia 1468. Hain 16244.
The date is, perhaps, rather that of composition than of printing; but the work must have been issued about this time, for it is mentioned as printed in the introduction to the Vocabularium hispano-latinum of 1495.

1493, s.d. Valera, Chronica de España.
B. I. Vienna. — Mendez-Hid. p. 118, no. 12. Hain 15771.

1495, s.d. Nebrissensis, Vocabularium hispano-latinum.
The book bears no date, but the introduction proves that it was issued in 1495.

1495, march 10. Antoninus de Florentia, Summa Defecerunt.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Salvá 3834 note.

1495, may 8. Valera, Chronica de España.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. — Heredia 7392. Hain-Copinger 15772.

1496, june 20. Encina, Cancionero.
B. R. Munich. — Gallardo 2069. Hain 6594 and 6595.

1496, oct. 18. Aeneas Sylvius, Eurialus y Lucrecia.
Gallardo 632.

1497, jan. Bocaccio, Fiameta.
Salvá 1534.

1497, march 5 (not 1). Santos, Dicteria.
Gallardo 4496.

1497, aug. 15. Livio, Decadas.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon.—Salvá 2785. Hain-Copinger 10150.

1498, s.d. Villalobos, Sumario de medicina.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 2804. Hain-Copinger 10208.

1498, june 17. Duran, Comento sobre Lux bella.
Gallardo 4531.

1498, july 30. Enseñamiento del corazon.
B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 361, no. 9.

1498, oct. 24. S. Hieronymus, Vitas patrum.
Salvá 4039.

1499, jan. 20. Valera, Cronica de España.
Gallardo 4147.

1499, april 27. Tractado de la vida y estado de la perfeccion.
B. N. Lisbon. B. Prov. Saragossa. — Salvá 4024.

1499, may 20. Diaz de Toledo, Notas del relator.
Brit. Mus.

1499, oct. 29. Costana, Te igitur. Canonis missae expositio.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí vol. ii. p. 29-30.

1500, march 17. Hugo, Speculum ecclesiae.
Trin. Coll. Camb. — Mendez-Hid. p. 362, no. 11.

Anonymous Salamanca books.

1500, march 29. Diaz de Montalvo, Ordenanzas Reales.
B. Ste. Genev. Paris. B. Col. Sevilla. B. U. Salamanca. — Arbolí vol. ii. p. 278-279. Hain-Copinger 11562.

1500, june 17. Valera, Cronica de España.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 365, no. 15.

1500, july 18. Costana, Super decalogo.
B. N. Lisbon. B. Prov. Caceres. — Gallardo 1940. Hain 5789.

1500, s.d. Mena, Coplas de los siete pecados.
Brit. Mus. — Salvá 786 note.

s.a. Nebrissensis, Vafre dicta philosophorum.
Heredia 2810. Hain 11691.

Roman Types.[1]

1491, july 15. Nebrissensis, Epithalamium in nuptias Alphonsi et Elisabethae junioris.
Gallardo 2652.

1496, s.d. Basilius Magnus, Institutiones de moribus.
B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 1341.

1496, s.d. Osma, Pedro de, Comm. in ethica Aristotelis.
Gallardo 3297. Hain 12122.

1496, s.d. D. Hieronymi Pauli vita.
B. U. Valencia.
Collation[2]: f.(a_1) Diui hieronymi Pauli primi heremi || te uita incipitur feliciter. || &c. f.(b_6) Impressum salmantice anno domini M. cccc xcvj. 8°. L. R. ff. 12. unnumbered. sig. a-b^6.

1496, sept. 13. S. Pablo, Epistolas.
B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 359, no. 4.

1497, nov. 20 (not dec.). Alvernia, Super libros meteororum.
B. N. Brussels. B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí vol. i. p. 86. Hain 12852.

[1] The commentary by Nebrissensis on the Oratoriae institutiones of Quintilian was written in 1486, but not printed before 1495, as it is missing in the enumeration of the works of Nebrissensis in the introduction to the Vocabularium. Mendez, therefore (2 ed. p. 115, no. 8), is wrong. I doubt whether the book is to be numbered among *incunabula.*

[2] Note obtained from Señor Joaquin Casañ y Alegre, Valencia.

1498, s.d. Mela, Cosmographia ed. Nebrissensis.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 3252. Hain-Copinger 11021.

1499, s.d. Verardus, Fernandus servatus.
Gallardo 2652.

Types not indicated.

1487, may 25. Torres, Reglas astronomicas.
Mendez-Hid. p. 116, no. 8 bis.

1488, s.d. (?) Missale Legionense.
Hain 11319.

1493. july 4. Ximenez de Prexamo, Lucero de la vida christiana.
Hain 16244.

1494, s.d. (?) Vassurtius, De natura loci et temporum.
Mendez-Hid. p. 359, no. 2.

1495, s.d. (?) Ximenez de Prexamo, Lucero de la vida christiana.
Hain 16245.

1496, s.d. (?) Verinus, Disticha moralia.
Mendez-Hid. p. 360, no. 7.

1499, s.d. (?) Bocados de oro.
Hain 3269.

1500, s.d. (?) (Celestina) Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea.
Salvá 1157 note.

1500, s.d. (?) Fuero Real.
Mendez-Hid. p. 363, no. 12.

1500, s.d. (?) Leyes del estilo.
Mendez-Hid. p. 363, no. 13. Hain 10063.

1500, s.d. (?) Ximenez, De Tormis inundatione.
Hain 16229.

VII. ANTONIO DE CENTENERA AT ZAMORA.

1482, jan. 25. Mendoza, Vita Christi per coplas.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 182. Hain 11073.

1482, aug. 3 (not 13). Seneca, Proverbios.

Bodley. — Salvá 2168. Hain-Copinger 14651.

1483, jan. 15. Villena, Trabajos de Hercules.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 2032.

1483, feb. 7 (not 16). Lucena, Vita beata.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 3932. Hain-Copinger 10255.

1485, june 15. Diaz de Montalvo, Copilacion de leyes.

Bodley. B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 2009. Hain-Copinger 11558.

About the pretended Huete edition of this book, which others have attributed to Centenera, see before, p. 81-82.

1486, dec. 12. Cuaderno de alcabalas.

Floranes, Apuntamientos, apud Mendez-Hid. p. 295-297.

1488, aug. 30. Manuale.

Cf. Fernandez Duro, Coleccion bibliografico-biografica de Zamora, p. 300. The last sheet, with the colophon, unique, was in possession of Mr. Francisco Vera.

1490, may 22. Lopez, Libro de los evangelios.

B. R. Madrid. — Gallardo 2717. Hain 6646.

1492, s.d. Teoduli liber.

Collation[1]: fol. (a_1) Teodoli liber Incipit: || Ethiopū terras iam feruida torruit ęstas. || &c. fol. b_3 verso: Desine quod restat ne desperatio lędat. || Theodoli liber finit fęliciter. || Diui bernardi de regimine dom' ad Rai || mūdum militē Epistola foeliciter ĩcipit. || &c. fol. (b_7) verso: Explicit epistola magistri Bernardi supe || ri' nominati de regimine familięq$_3$ domus. || Christophori de paredinas zamorę grammaticę || professoris in diuę Catherinę scolasticoꝫ aucto || ris laude Sapphicuꝫ carmē Adonicoq$_3$ mistū || incipit. || &c. fol. (b_8) verso:

Altas cum capri descendit dęlius arces
Ordine signorum binos post fecerat orbes
Expulit hęsperia christi fernandus amator

[1] From the unique copy in possession of Señor M. Murillo at Madrid.

Uipereū genus inuisum gentēq; malıgnam
Peragit urbe libellum centenera zamorę

4°. G. L. ff. 16. 20 ll. sigs. a⁸, b⁸.

VII. Antonio de Centenera.

Zamora, s.a. Nebrissensis, Introducciones latinas.
Mendez-Hid. p. 131, no. 5. Hain-Copinger 11688.

s.l.e.a. Manrique, Regimiento de principes.
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 4475.

s.l.e.a. Mendoza, Vita Christi per coplas.
Brit. Mus. [Zamora c. 1482.] — Gallardo 3045.
A few copies of the last two books have been found bound up with books printed by Centenera, and are said by trustworthy authorities to agree with them in the types, paper, and other external marks.

VIII. NICOLAS CALAFAT AT MALLORCA.

1485, june 20. Gerson, Tractatus de regulis mandatorum.
B. U. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 356, no. 2.

1487, jan. 31. Prats, Vers.
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 3523.
Mr. Volger, through misunderstanding two inaccurate quotations, has made two different books of this same issue, p. 105.

IX. LOPE DE LA ROCA.

Valencia.

1485, dec. 9. Vida de Sant Honorat.
Mendez-Hid. p. 36, no. 13. Hain 8823.

Murcia.

1487, march 26. Perez, Oracional.
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 1629.

1487, may 28. Rodriguez de Almella, Copilacion de las batallas.
B. N. Paris. — Gallardo 3663. Hain 5571.

1487, dec. 6. Rodriguez de Almella, Valerio de las historias.
B. U. Salamanca. — Salvá 3156. Hain 864.

IX. Lope de la Roca.

1495 (s.d. ?). Vida de Sant Honorat.

B. Ep. Valencia. — Volger p. 120.

1495, may 15. Vicent, Libre dels jochs partits del schachs.

Mendez-Hid. p. 42, no. 30.

Printed in partnership with Pere Tringer.

1495, sept. 28. Aesopus, Fabellae.

B. U. Cagliari.

Collation[1]: fol. a_1 blank. fol. a_2: (Woodcut and title:) Fabelle esopi trāslate e greco a laurē || tio vallensi secretario illustrissimi domini Alfonsi. Re || gis Aragonum dicate Arnaldo fenolleda eiusdez dnī || Regis secretario. fol. b_4: Explicit opusculum hoc: qz diligentissime emenda || tū atqz correctum per ioannem Sales artibus studen || tem. Et impressum Valētie per Lupuz de la Roca ale || manuz. xxviij. septēbris. año domini. M.cccc.lxxxxv. || deo gracias ||. 8°. G. L. ff. 12. 20 ll. sig. a^8 b^4.

1496, sept. 17. Phalaridis epistulae, ed. Leonardus Aretinus.

B. U. Barcelona. — Volger p. 120.

1497, aug. 22. Isabel de Villena, Vita Christi.

Gallardo 4332.

1497, oct. 14. Fenollar, Proces de les olives.

B. Mazarine, Paris. — Hain-Copinger 6968.

1497, oct. 25. Gazull, Somni de Joan de Joan.

B. Mazarine, Paris. B. V. Avignon. — Hain 7503. (Perhaps only issued together with the preceding, though often quoted separately.)

PERE TRINGER.

Valencia, 1498, febr. 3. Obra allaors de S. Christofol.

B. N. Madrid. (unique copy). — Salvá 301.

The reference to an edition of 1488 by Mr. Reichardt, Beitraege zur Inkunabelnkunde, p. 385, is erroneous.

X. FADRIQUE DE BASILEA (FRIEDRICH BIEL) AT BURGOS.

1485, march 12. Cerezo, Grammatica.

B. N. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 133, no. 4. Hain 8334.

[1] Note from Dr. Arn. Capra, University Library, Cagliari.

1487, s.d. Valera, Chronica de España. X. Fadrique de Basilea.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 3204 note. Hain-Copinger 15767.

1487, june 20. Alonso de Cartagena, Doctrinal de caballeros.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. B. U. Santiago. — Salvá 1541. Hain 4538.

1488, sept. 24. Diaz de Montalvo, Libro de leyes.

Brit. Mus. — Gallardo 2010. Hain 11560.

1490, s.d. Diaz de Toledo, Notas del Relator.

Floranes, Apuntamientos, apud Mendez-Hid. p. 309.

1490, oct. 15. Ximenez, Libro de los santos angeles.

Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 134, no. 8. Hain 16232.

1490, dec. 15. Tratado breve de confesion.

Gallardo 1228.

1491, nov. 25. Tractado de amores de Arnalte e Lucenda.

Salvá 1675 note.

1492, s.d. Antoninus de Florentia, Suma (Defecerunt).

B. N. Lisbon.

Collation[1]: f. a_1. ¶ A gloria y a loor de dios aqui comiença vn tracta- || do mucho prouechoso y de grand doctrina, en el qual || se contienen materias tocantes al sacramento d'la pe || nitencia ansi de parte del confessor y poderio suyo co- || mo de parte del penitente. E el tractado que esta en || romançe es el que compuso el reuerendo señor anto- || nino arçobispo de florencia de la orden de los predica || dores. que es llamado defecerunt. y los que estan en || latin son sacados de otros tractados y summas: y del || cuerpo del derecho. segund que por ellos mesmos || se declara.||

f. D. vii verso: ¶ Esta obra fue emprentada enla muy noble y leal || çiudad de burgos por industria de Fradique aleman || de Basilea. en el año del nuestro salua || dor ihu christo || de mill. y. cccc. y. xcij. años.|| (fol. D. viii. printer's mark.) 4°. G. L. ff. 216. sig. a-z, A-D in eights.

1493, july 6. Nebrissensis, Introductionum latinarum secunda aeditio.

Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 136, no. 10. Hain 12082 and 11684. (Hain makes two different works out of the two parts of which the book is composed. Mr. Spirgatis of Leipzig had the kindness to lend me the copy he sold last year, and after a careful examination I am convinced that the

[1] Note from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

vocabulary by Oriola was not published separately, Oriola being the editor of this issue of the "secunda aeditio," which seems to have been printed in different places, besides the editions of Venice and of Burgos.)

1493, nov. 7. Aurea hymnorum expositio.
B. N. Paris. — Heredia 3576.

1494, april 12. Niger, De modo epistolandi.
B. Prov. Toledo. — Gallardo 3217. Hain 11870.

1495, march 28. Ximenez de Prexamo, Lucero de la vida christiana.
Mendez-Hid. p. 136, no. 13.

1495, dec. 24. Gerson, Libro de remedar a Christo.
B. N. Brussels. B. Ste. Geneviève, Paris [Daunoy, 1120]. (Imperfectly described.)

1496, aug. 22. Aesopo, Fabulas.
B. N. Paris. — Hain 359.

1496, oct. 27. San Pedro, Carcel de amor.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 137, no. 14. Hain-Copinger 12545.

1497, s.d. Martinez de Ampies, Libro del Anticristo.
B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 370, no. 7. Hain 1152[a].

1498 (s.d. ?). Marineus Siculus, Epistolae ex antiquorum annalibus excerptae.
B. U. Salamanca. — Anuario del cuerpo facultativo de archivos bibliotecas y museos. tom. ii. p. 151.

1498, febr. 16. Johannes de Capua, Exemplario contra engaños.
Gallardo 1576. Hain 4412.

1499, s.d. Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea (Celestina).
Mendez-Hid. 371, no. 10.

1499, july 6. Antoninus de Florentia, Suma de confesion (Defecerunt).
B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 139, no. 20.

[1501 (s.d. ?). *Manuale Burgense.*
Exposicion Historico Europea. Catalogo General. Sala XX. no. 368.]

[1511, dec. 18. *Fasciculus mirrhe.*
Salvá 3898.]

[1512, s.d. *Missale Toledanum.*
Exposicion Hist.-Europea. Catalogo General. Sala X. no. 324.]

[1512, march 31. *Cronica del Cid.*
Gallardo 522.]

[1512, april 30. *Nebrissensis, Opuscula.*
Gallardo 2651.]

[1512, nov. 28. *Nebrissensis, Dictionarium.*
Gallardo 2640.]

[1515, april 2. *Traduccion y comento del Dante.*
Salvá 559.]

[1515, oct. 25. *Refranes famosisimos.*
Salvá 2136 note.]

[1516, febr. 4. *Cronica del conde Fernan Gonzalez.*
Salvá 1779.]

[1516, may 30. *Ximenez, Natura angelica.*
Gallardo 4410.]

[1516, dec. 18. *S. Hieronymus, Prologi super omnes divinae historiae libros.*
Arbolí vol. iii. p. 304.]

[1517, s.d.? *Covarubios, Memorial de peccados.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 141.]

With the Mark of Fadrique.

s.a. Badius Ascensius, Stultiferae naves.
Brit. Mus.
Collation: (fol. a_1) Stultiferae naues sensus animos || q_5 trahentes mortis in exitium. [Woodcut.] fol. a_2: In Stultiferas naues præfatio. fol. a_3: Stultorum sensuū nauis in exitiū tendens. *End.* fol. c_3: Vale. Ex lugduno anno M.cccc.xcviii. quarto idus septembris. [*On verso:*] Mark of F. de Basilea with the engraved date 1499. ff. 20. ll. 32, 33. sig. a^8, b^8, c^4.

s.a. Escobar, Arte de confesion.
Mendez-Hid. p. 182, no. 3.

s.a. Aguilar, Sermo quem fecit 1486.
Mendez-Hid. p. 391, no. 2.

X. Fadrique de Basilea. s.a. Orationes ad plenum collectae.

B. N. Paris.

Collation[1]: (fol. a_1): Orationes ad plenum collecte sū- || maq̃ vigilantia emendate: insuper || ⁊ alique que defuerant addite: que ꝑ || totum annum in ecclesia cantātur.|| [Woodcut.]

fol. 53 (g_5) verso: Sacrarum orationū libellus ex officio diuino collectus || ad clericorum atq̃ sacerdotū latinis litteris incumben || tium publicam utilitatem feliciter explicit.|| fol. 54 (g_6) verso: Printer's mark.

4°. Roman type. Without foliation or catchwords. Sig. a-g.

With the Types of Fadrique.

s.l.e.a. Mingo Revulgo, Coplas.

Brit. Mus.

s.l.e.a. La passion de Christo.

Brit. Mus.

s.l.e.a. Infante, Forma libelandi.

B. R. Munich.

Collation: fol. (a_1): Forma libelandi. Woodcut. f. (a_1) verso: Estos son los libellos del muy fa || moso doctor el doctor infante. || [D]Emanda personal. Señor fulano alcalde de tal logar ⁊c. fol. (d_8) verso: imploro vuestro no-|| ble officio pido ⁊ protesto las costas. || Deo Gratias. || fol. G. L. ff. 28. 40 ll. sig. a^8, b^6, c^6, d^8.

XI. PAUL HURUS AT SARAGOSSA.

1485 (s.d. ?). Misal Cesaraugustano.

Borao, La imprenta en Zaragoza, Zarag. 1860, p. 22.

1485, febr. 20. Epistolas y evangelios en castellano.

B. U. Coimbra. — Gallardo 2312. Hain 6645.

JUAN HURUS.

1488, s.d. Misal de Huesca.

Mendez-Hid. p. 332.

1489, s.d. Vida del Ysopet con sus fabulas.

Salvá 1795 note. Hain 358.

1490, june 3. Diaz de Montalvo, Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla.

B. Ministerio de Fomento, Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 332, no. 2.

[1] Note from M. Leopold Delisle, B. N. Paris.

XI. Paul Hurus and his successors.

1491, may 13. Rodrigo, Espejo de la vida humana.

B. Jerez. — Gallardo 3647.

It is probably this same edition which Mendez-Hid. p. 65, no. 5, quotes as printed 1481 without printer's name.

1492, july 31. Antoninus de Florentia, Suma de confesion.

Salvá 3834.

1492, sept. 22. Aristoteles, Ethica.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 66, no. 10.

1492, nov. 27. Mendoza, Coplas de vita Christi.

Salvá 186. Hain 4312.

1492, dec. 22. Transito de S. Jeronimo.

Mendez-Hid. p. 67, no. 11. Hain 8654.

1493, s.d. Salustio Catilinario.

Brit. Mus. — Gallardo 4291. Hain-Copinger 14234.

1493, march 13. Johannes de Capua, Exemplario contra engaños.

Museo Español de antiguedades. tom. iv. p. 187.

1493, sept. 24. Diego de Valera, Cronica de España.

B. N. Paris. — Hain 15770.

Collation[1]: fol. $(+_1)$: [Woodcut.] La cronica de España. fol. $+_2$: Esta siguiēte coronica illustrissima princesa es partida en qua || tro partes principales: assi como se declara por esta tabla. || fol. $(+_8)$: Comiença la Coronica de España: &c. fol. CVII. col. 2: Agora de nuevo/ serenissi || ma princesa: &c. . . . De los quales Ale || manos es uno Paulo hurus de Constan || cia de maravilloso ingenio (&c. as in the edition of Sevilla, 1482). fol. CVII. verso, col. 2: En vuestra || muy noble ꝛ insigne cibdad de çaragoça: || fue impressa a costa/ y espensas del dicho || Paulo hurus. Enel año del nascimento || de nuestro saluador Jesu christo de mill ꝛ || qatrocientos/ y nouenta y tres años. A || veynte y quatro dias de setiembre. || Laus deo. ||

fol. G. L. 2 coll. ff. 116, the first eight and the last not, the others numbered I.-CVII. Sig. $+^6$, a^6-s^6. With woodcut and engraved initials.

1494 (s.d. ?). Garcia de Santa Maria, Diez cuerdas de la vanidad del mundo.

Mendez-Hid. p. 69, no. 15. Hain. 7495.

[1] Note from M. Leopold Delisle, B. N. Paris.

XI. Paul Hurus.

1494 (s.d.?). Compendio de la salud humana.
B. N. Madrid. — Exposicion Hist.-Europ. Catalogo General. Sala XVII. no. 117.

1494, march 15. Fori Aragonum.
Hain 7496.

1494, may 7. Garcia de Santa Maria, De quatuor novissimis. (Cordial.)
Salvá 3876.

1494, oct. 2. De Li, Thesoro de la pasion.
B. Prov. Toledo. — Hain 6088.

1494, oct. 24. Boccaccio, Mujeres ilustres.
Gallardo 1406. Hain 3337[a].

1495, s.d. Martinez de Ampies, Triunfo de Maria.
P. Prov. Toledo. — Salvá 1054 note.

1495, s.d. Valerio Maximo.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 71, no. 19. Hain-Copinger 15797.

1495, may 6. Diaz, Libro de albeyteria.
Mendez-Hid. p. 334, no. 7.

1495, june 10. De Li, Repertorio de los tiempos.
Mendez-Hid. p. 333, no. 6.

1495, oct. 10. Mendoza, Coplas de vita Christi.
Mendez-Hid. p. 70, no. 18. Hain 4313.

1496, march 3. Seneca, Epistolas.
B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 4003.

1496, aug. 5. Fori Aragonum.
B. I. Vienna. — Mendez-Hid. p. 334, no. 9. Hain 1548.

1496, oct. 8. Martinez d'Ampies, Libro del antichristo.
B. U. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 335, no. 10. Hain 10829.

1496, oct. 15. Rabbi Samuel, Carta.
Mendez-Hid. p. 335, no. 10.
(Though with a separate colophon, this is really part of the preceding, the foliation continuing to the end.)

1497 (s.d. ?). Breviarium Cesaraugustanum.

Mendez-Hid. p. 71, no. 21.

1497 (s.d. ?). Breviarium sancte ecclesiae Tirasonensis.

Mendez-Hid. p. 71, no. 22.

(These two quotations of Mendez are rather suspicious, no copies of these books having come to light.)

1497, apr. 28. Antoninus de Florencia, Summa Defecerunt.

B. Prov. Toledo. — Mendez-Hid. p. 71, no. 20.

Collation[1]: f. a_1: La sumā de confesion llamada defecerunt de fray Antonino Arçobispo de florēcia del ordē d'los predicatores. En romance. f. a_2: Comiença la tabla &c. f. IX. verso: Comiença una breve informaciō como se debe aver el cōfesor &c. fol. CXXX.: De ornatu mulierū et faciētibus eum &c. f. CXXXVI.: De octo cassibus &c. f. CLXVI. verso: Printer's mark, and colophon: Fuit presens opus impressum Cesarauguste. Anno salutis millesimo cccc.xcvij die vero xxviij mensis Aprilis. 4°. G. L. ff. 168. ll. 36. Two unnumbered +, I.-CLXVI. with sig.

1498, jan. 16. Breitenbach, Viaje de tierra santa.

Brit. Mus. B. I. Vienna. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 2946. Hain 3965.

1498, nov. 23. Missale Caesaraugustanum.

B. Prov. Toledo.

Collation[1]: f.(a_1) Missale scd'm morem ecclesie Zesaraugustu. On verso begins the Kalendar. Colophon: Finit missale: scdū morem ecclesie cesaraugustū: Regnāte Illustrissimo ac Reverēdissimo dño: Alfonso de Aragone: ejusdē mectropolis antistete: accurate: diligēterq; emēdatū: ac impressum Cesaraugustū jusum et impensis Pauli Hurus Constantiensis: Germanici: Anno salutis: millessimo quadigētessimo nonagessimo octavo: nono Kalendas Decembris. 4°. G. L. ff. 359, with sig. 14 unnumbered leaves for the Kalendar, the others numbered I.-CCX. and I.-CXXXV. Woodcuts.

1499 (s.d. ?). Nebrissensis, Aurea expositio hymnorum.

Mendez-Hid. p. 336, no. 13.

1499, sept. 12. Vagad, Chronica de Aragon.

Brit. Mus. B. Maz. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 4126. Hain 15758.

1499, oct. 16. Diaz, Libro de albeyteria.

Salvá 2612 note. Hain 6149.

[1] Notes obtained from Señor J. Gonzalez Hernandez, Toledo.

XI. Coci, Hutz, Appentegger.

s.l.e.a. Llavia, Cancionero.
B. I. Vienna. — Heredia 1641.

GEORGE COCI, LEONARD HUTZ, LUPUS APPENTEGGER.

1500, april 30. Constitutiones tam provinciales quam synodales Caesaraugustanae.
Mendez-Hid. p. 337, no. 16. Hain 5658.

1500, july 30. Officia quotidiana.
Mendez-Hid. p. 338.

ANONYMOUS, PROBABLY BY THE SAME.

1500 (s.d. ?). De contemptu mundi poema.
Borao, La imprenta en Zaragoza, p. 25.

[1502, june 24. *Sedulius, Paschale.*
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 3949.]

[1503, s.d. *Verinus, Disticha.*
B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 3950.]

[1506, s.d. *Sobrarius, Oratio.*
B. Col. Sevilla. — Gallardo 3951.]

LEONHARD HUTZ AT VALENCIA.

[1502 (?). *Proaza, Oratio de laudibus Valentiae.*
Gallardo p. 397.]

[1506, febr. 28. *Januarius, Ars metaphysicalis.*
Salvá 3917.]

XII. JUAN VAZQUEZ AND JUAN TELLEZ AT TOLEDO.

JUAN VAZQUEZ.

1486, july 31. Ximenez de Prexamo, Confutatorium errorum.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. B. U. Valladolid. — Pastor 2. Hain 16243.

1486, dec. 24. Pulgar, Claros varones.
Pastor 3.

s.d. Roman, Trobas de la gloriosa pasion.
B. Escorial. — Gallardo 3703.

JUAN TELLEZ [XXIV. *bis.*].

1494, march 29. Gutierrez, De potu in lapidis preservatione.
Pastor 4. Hain 8337.

1495 (s.d ?). Gutierrez, De computatione dierum criticarum.
Pastor 8. Hain 8338.

XIII. BARTOLOMÉ DE LILA AT CORIA.

1489, s.d. Gratia Dei, Blason General.
Salvá 3570 note. This book has been reproduced at Madrid by Murillo, 1882.

XIV. ARNAO GUILLEN DE BROCAR AT PAMPELONA.

1489, s.d. Castrovol, Commentarius in symbolum apostolicum.
Mendez p. 381, no. 1. Hain 4656.

1492, s.d. Castrovol, Super psalmum Athanasii.
Mendez p. 381, no. 2.

1495, oct. 10. Epilogo en medicina.
B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Hain-Copinger 6604.

1496 (s.d. ?). Castrovol, Commentarius in VIII. libros phisicorum.
Mendez-Hid. p. 166, no. 3.

1496, june 8. Castrovol, Commentarius super libros politicorum Aristotelis.
B. N. Paris. B. Maz. Paris. B. I. Vienna. B. Col. Sevilla. — Hain-Copinger 4654.

1497, nov. 3. S. Bonaventura, Dieta salutis.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 381, no. 4. Hain-Copinger 3529.

XIV. Arnao Guillen at Pampelona and Logroño.

1499, s.d. Fuentedueña, Titulo virginal de nuestra señora.
B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí, Catalogo vol. iii. p. 137. Hain 7391.

1499, jan. 30. Nicolaus de Blony, Tractatus de administratione sacramentorum.
B. N. Paris. B. U. Sevilla. B. Prov. Burgos. — Mendez-Hid. p. 383, no. 6.

1499, oct. 14 (not 13, nor 23). Peraldus, Enseñamiento de los religiosos.
B. U. Madrid. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 607. Hain 12578.

s.a. Castrovol, Tractatus vel expositio in simbolum Quicunque vult.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 1740 [identical with the edition of 1489 ?]. Hain 4655.

s.a. Aegidius de Columna, Chronica Troyana.
B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 1586 note.

s.a. Castrovol, Formalitates.
B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí, Catalogo vol. ii. p. 59.

It is unnecessary to register the work of Brocar in the sixteenth century, as his Alcalá books are recorded by Catalina Garcia, and those of Toledo by Perez Pastor. To complete the list as far as possible, I add the Logroño and Valladolid works.

At Logroño.

[1503, march 21. *Fernandez de Santaella, Sacerdotalis instructio.*
Gallardo 2212.]

[1503, april 4. *Ponzon, Liber de oculo morali.*
Gallardo 4485.]

[1503, june 7. *Cyrillus, Speculum.*
Arbolí vol. ii. p. 233.]

[1504, jan. 23. *Sanchez de Vercial, Sacramental.*
Gallardo 4494.]

[1507, s.d. *Fores, Tratado contra pestilencia.*
Gallardo 2255.]

[1507, april 23. *Espejo de conciencia.*
Arbolí vol. iii. p. 33.]

[1508 (s.d. ?). *Nebrissensis, Hymnorum recognitio.*
Heredia 6361, 3.]

[1508, oct. 3. *San Pedro, Carcel de amor.*
Gallardo 3811.]

[1510, s.d. *Nebrissensis, Hymnorum recognitio.*
Heredia 6361, 4.]

[1510, oct. 29. *Nebrissensis, Introductiones in latinam grammaticam.*
Gallardo 2632.]

[1512, sept. 2. *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis libelli.*
Clemens, Specimen bibliothecae Hispano-Majansianae (Hannover, 1753, 4°), p. 26.]

[1512, dec. 20. *Petrarca, Triunfos.*
Heredia 1608.]

[1513, june 8. *Herrera, Obra de agricultura.*
Gallardo 2495.]

[1513, july 7. *Urrea, Cancionero.*
Gallardo 4121.]

VALLADOLID.

[1515, nov. 25. *Saladino, Compendio de boticarios.*
Heredia 500.]

[1516, jan. 28, *Rodriguez de Tudela, Servidor de Albucasis.*
Arbolí vol. i. p. 38.]

[1516, nov. 15. *Petrus Martir, Decadas.*
Arbolí vol. i. p. 113.]

LOGROÑO.

[1517, oct. 10. *Perez de Guzman, Cronica de D. Juan II.*
Gallardo 3440.]

VALLADOLID.

[1519, april 15. *Juvenal, Sexta satira.*
Heredia 1558.]

[1519, nov. 15. *Salustio Catilinario.*
Gallardo 4292.]

[s.l.e.a. *Nebrissensis, Tabla de la diversidad de los dias.*
Gallardo 2656.]

XV. PRESS AT SAN CUCUFATE.

1489, nov. 29. Isaac, De religione.
B. N. Madrid. B. U. Barcelona. — Gallardo 1419. Hain 9268.

XVI. PAULUS DE COLONIA, JOHANN PEGNITZER, MAGNUS HERBST, TOMAS GLOCKNER (CUATRO COMPAÑEROS) AT SEVILLE.

1490, s.d. Alfonso de Palencia, Universal vocabulario.
B. N. Madrid. B. N. Lisbon. — Escudero 11. Hain 12275.

1491, march 1. P. de Gui, Formalitates breves.
Mendez-Hid. p. 86, no. 19. Hain 8150 (s. typ.).

1491, march 12. Lull, De conceptione.
B. Prov. Saragossa. — Gallardo 2837. Hain 5603 and 10326.

1491, july 2. Plutarco, Vidas. Vol. I., II.
Bodley. Brit. Mus. (Vol. I.). B. U. Madrid. B. N. Lisbon. B. I. Vienna. B. R. Munich. B. N. Paris (Vol. I.). — Salvá 3490. Hain 13133.

1491, sept. 30. Ximenez de Prexamo, Floretum. Vol. I., II. (= El Tostado sobre San Mateo).
Brit. Mus. B. R. Dresden. B. R. Munich. B. N. Paris (Vol. I. only). — Escudero 21. Hain 15581.

1491, s.d. Biblia latina.
Mendez-Hid. p. 87, no. 20. (Existence doubtful.)

1492, march 3. San Pedro, Carcel de amor.
Escudero 32.

With the Types of the Cuatro Compañeros.

s.l.e.a. Antiphonarium et Graduale ad usum ordinis S. Hieronymi.
B. N. Paris (imperfect).
Collation[1]*:* f. I. & II. wanting. fo. III.: nu. m. p̄. Venite adore || mus &c. End f. XLVII. verso: Et repetitur || Regē cui om || nia viuunt. Graduale f. I. missing. f. IX. (sig. b.) vinclo colli tui captiua filia sion. p̄s. &c. fol. G. L. ff. 164. ll. 7 of music and text. Numbered I.-XLVII. and I.-CXVII. sig. A-F^8 and a-q^8.

[1] Note obtained from Mdlle. Pellechet, Paris.

JOHANN PEGNITZER, MAGNUS HERBST, TOMAS GLOCKNER (TRES COMPAÑEROS).

XVI. Tres Compañeros.

1493, s.d. Ortiz, Cinco tratados.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 2365. Hain 12109.

1495, april 4. Diaz de Montalvo, Ordenanzas reales.

B. U. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 99, no. 50. Hain 11561.

1495, may 15. Lanfranco, Cirugia menor.

B. U. Sevilla. — Escudero 47. Hain 9881 (who attributes it by error to Meinard and Stanislas).

1496, oct. 26. Camara, Epithoma s. compilatio de sacramentis.

B. Prov. Caceres. — Gallardo 1546. Hain 4276.

1498, may. Cronica del Cid.

B. I. Vienna. — Hain 5359.

Collation: (a_1) Coronica del || çid ruy diaz. (a_2) [A]Qui comiença vn libro llamado su- || ma de las cosas marauillosas q̃ fizo || en su vida el buen cauallero cid ruy || diaz cō garcia y esfuerço q̃ nr̃o señor || dios le dio &c. (i_5 verso) Aqui fenece el breue tratado de los hechos ⁊ ba- || tallas que el buen cauallero Cid ruy diaz vencio: cō || fauor ⁊ ayuda d' nuestro senor. El qual se acabo en el || mes de mayo de nouenta y ocho años. Y fue empre- || mido por tres compañeros alemanes: en la muy noble ⁊ muy leal cibdad de Seuilla. || A Dios gracias. (i_6) Printers' mark. 4°. G. L. ff. 70. 31 ll. sig. a^8-h^8, i^6. 12 woodcuts.

1498, aug. 3. Flor de virtudes.

B. N. Turin.

Collation: (a_1) flor de || virtudes. f_3: Este breue tratado fue impresso en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de seuilla por tres alemanes compañeros. Año de mill cccc. xcviij. años. A tres de agosto. 4°. G. L. ff. 44. sig. a^8-e^8, f^4.

1498, oct. 3. Virgilius, Bucolica & Georgica.

B. N. Lisbon.

Collation[1]*:* (a_1 missing.) a_2: Egloga prima virgilij cū cōmento familiari. || (o_4) P. virgilii. Maronis poete clarissimi buccolica et georgica || cum glossematis familiaribus zone grāmatici explicita atq; || impressa primū parisijs deinde hispali ductu et impensis Jo || annis laurentij bibliopole in officina Joannis pegniczer de || nurenberga thome glockner et magni herbst alemani socij. || Anno dñi. M.cccc.xcviij. quinto nonas octobris. Below printers' mark. fol. G. L. ff. 80. sig. a^6-c^6, d^4, e^8-n^8, o^4.

[1] Note obtained from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

XVI. Tres Compañeros.

1498, oct. 20. Historia de Enrique fi de Oliva.

B. I. Vienna. — Gallardo 603.

Collation: (a_1) Historia de enrri || que fí de olíua: || rey de ihrl'm e enperador de cōstātinopla. a_2: Aqui comiença el libro de enrri || que fi de oliua. || [E]N frācia acaecieron muchos fe- || chos de grādes maneras: &c. (f_3 recto:) Acabose la presente historia de En || rriqne hijo dela infanta doña oliua: el || qual por la gracia de dios fue rey de ie || rusalem y emperador de Constantino || pla. Fue empremido en la muy noble ꝛ || muy leal ciudad de seuilla por tres ale || manes compañeros enel año de Mill y quatrocientos ꝛ nouēta y ocho años || a veynte dias del mes de otubre. (f_3 verso) printers' mark. 4°. G. L. ff. 44. 31-32 ll. sig. a^8-e^8, f^4 (f_4 blank).

1499, febr. 14. Santaella, Vocabularium ecclesiasticum.

B. Prov. Saragossa. — Escudero 76. Hain 6976.

1499, march 5. Lora, Aurea hymnorum expositio.

Brit. Mus. — Escudero 80.

1499, june 7. Mendoza, Tratado de las ceremonias de la misa.

Escudero 79.

1499, june 14 (not 24). Santaella, Sacerdotalis instructio.

Escudero 81. Hain 6977.

1499, july 11. Mendoza, Proverbios.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 2090 note. Escud. 96 (s.l.e.a. e. typ.).

1499, aug. 28. Mena, Trescientas.

B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 3005. Hain-Copinger 11072.

1499, oct. 7. Mena, Trescientas.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 787 note.

1499, nov. 5. Mena, Coronacion.

B. I. Vienna. B. Prov. Toledo. — Heredia 1815. Hain 11070.

PEGNITZER AND HERBST.

1500, febr. 18. Seneca, Proverbios.

B. U. Valencia. B. Prov. Toledo. — Gallardo 2032.

1500, june 3. Diaz de Toledo, Notas del Relator.

Boletin de la libreria año 11. p. 41. no. 7754.

1500, july 23. Garcia, Carro de dos vidas.

Escudero 87. Hain 7494.

s.l.e.a. Mendoza, Proverbios.
Salvá 2090.

[1501, june 21. *Tulio de oficiis et de senectute en romance.*
Gallardo 1636.]

[1501, s.d. *Reprobacion del Alcoran.*
Escudero 114.]

[1501, jan. 16. *Encina, Cancionero.*
B. U. Wolfenbüttel.]

PEGNITZER.

[1503, sept. 17. *Suma utilissima dialectice oxoniensis.*
Escudero 134.]

[1503, nov. 4. *Gama, Establecimientos de la orden de Santiago.*
Heredia 2956.]

MEINARD UNGUT AND JOHANN PEGNITZER AT GRANADA.

1496, apr. 30. Ximenez, Vita Christi.
Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 168, no. 5. Hain 16239.

s.d. Breve y muy provechosa doctrina.
Mendez-Hid. pp. 393-395.

XVII. MEINARD UNGUT AND STANISLAUS POLONUS AT SEVILLE.

STANISLAUS POLONUS.

1491. Da Gui, Metaphysica.
Mendez p. 86, no. 18. Hain 8151.

MEINARD UNGUT AND STANISLAUS POLONUS.

1491, febr. 4. Deza, In defensiones S. Thomae.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. B. U. Sevilla. — Escudero 15. Hain-Copinger 6940.

1491, may 28. Seneca, Obras.
Brit. Mus. B. I. Vienna. B. N. Lisbon. B. U. Sevilla. — Salvá 4000. Hain 14596.

XVII. Ungut and Polonus.

1491, oct. 25 (not 20). Siete partidas.
Heredia 285. Hain 12426.

1491, nov. 24. Alonso de Palencia, Synonimos.
B. N. Lisbon. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 12. Hain 12274.

[1492, s.d. Aristoteles, Ethica. Erroneous.]
[Hain 1760.]

1492, s.d. Guillermus, Postilla.
Hain 8276.

1492, s.d. Cavalca, Espejo de la cruz.
I am not sure if this edition is really different from that dated nov. 5, 1492; it is quoted by good authorities as printed without indication of day and month, and from other examples it is not improbable that there may be two issues of the same year and office. A copy of it was in the private library of the late Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle, to whom I am indebted for the notice.

1492, jan. 12. Nicolaus de Lira, Tabula.
B. N. Madrid. B. U. Sevilla. — Escudero 29. Hain 10398.

1492, jan. 12. Martin, Margarita decreti s. tabula Martiniana.
Mendez-Hid. p. 90, no. 30. Hain 15212, and again, 10846, as printed by Ungut alone.

1492, march 27. Josephus, Guerra judaica.
B. R. Munich. B. N. Lisbon. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 28. Hain 9461.

1492, april 7. Antoninus de Florentia, Suma Defecerunt.
B. V. Rouen. — Gallardo 211.

1492, june 8. Perez de Guzman, Coplas.
B. I. Vienna. — Mendez p. 91, no. 33. Hain 8339.

1492, aug. 24. Floreto de San Francisco.
B. N. Lisbon. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 33. Hain 7331 (attributes it to Ungut alone).

1492, nov. 13. Cavalca, Espejo de la cruz.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Salvá 3889. Hain 4792.

1493 (s.d.?). Juan de Padilla, Laberinto.
Mendez-Hid. p. 94, no. 39. Hain 12260.

1493, febr. 28. Breviarium Toletanum.

Colegio de escuelas pias de San Fernando, Sevilla. — Mendez-Hid. p. 93, no. 37. Hain 3943.

1493, march 27. Gerson, Libro de remedar a Cristo.

B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 36. Hain 9134.

1493, may 11. Cauliaco, Inventario.

B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 347, no. 10.

1493, june 5. Aristoteles, Ethica.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 3836. Hain 1760 (corrected).

1493, nov. 6. Breviarium Segovianum.

Mendez-Hid. p. 95, no. 42. Hain 3939.

1494 (s.d. ?). Jorge Manrique, Coplas.

Escudero 41.

1494 (s.d. ?). Manriquez, Carmen in obitu Roderici.

Hain 10715.

1494, s.d. Floretus.

B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 348, no. 12.

Collation[1]: (a_1 wanting in the Lisbon copy.) a_2: [N]oīne floretus liber īcipit: ad bona coeptus || Sēp erit tutus: eius documenta secutus. c_8: Impressum Hispali: per Meynardum Vngut || Alamanū: & Stanislaū Polonum socios. An || no dñi. M.cccc.xciiii || 4°. Roman. ff. 24. ll. 28. sig. a^8-c^8.

1494, march 15. Manuale Hispalense.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 348, no. 11.

1494, april 3. Liber processionum sec. ordinem fratrum praedicatorum.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. — Heredia 137. Hain-Copinger 13380.

1494, oct. 20. Aegidius de Columna, Regimiento de principes.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. B. R. Munich. B. Prov. Toledo. &c. — Salvá 3986. Hain 112.

1494, nov. 15. Mendoza, Proverbios.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 43 and 44. Hain-Copinger 10207.

[1] Note obtained from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

XVII. Ungut and Polonus.

1495, april 18. Gordonio, Lilio de medicina.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 46.

[1495, may 15. Lanfranco, Cirurgia.

Hain 9881 attributes this to Ungut and Polonus; but it is really from the press of the "tres compañeros."]

1495, may 16. Bocados de oro.

B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 51. Hain 3268.

1495, july 8. Gorricio, Contemplaciones del rosario.

Brit. Mus. — Gallardo 2391.

1495, oct. 8. Lopez de Ayala, Chronica de D. Pedro.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. Gen. Paris. B. Prov. Toledo. — Daunoy, Cat. des incun. de la bibl. Geneviève 1133. Hain 10206 (attributes it to Ungut alone).

1495, oct. 22. Seneca, Proverbios.

Salvá 2169. Hain-Copinger 14652.

1495, dec. 29. Bocaccio, Caida de principes.

B. Col. Sevilla. — Escudero 45. Hain 3339.

1496, febr. 10. Diaz de Montalvo, Repertorium notabilium quaestionum.

B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. B. U. Sevilla. — Escudero 57. Hain-Copinger 11563.

1496, may 16. Curtius, Historia de Alexandro.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Lisbon. — Hain 5891.

Collation[1]: tit.: Quinto curcio. || Historía de Ale || xandre magno. || fol. ciiij recto: En el nombre de dios || todo poderoso amē. fenesce el dozeno li- || bro d'la ystoria de Alexādre magno fijo || de Felipo rey de macedonia: escripta de || Quinto Curcio ruffo muy enseñado: ꝛ || muy abundoso en todo. ꝛ sacada en vul- || gar: al muy sereno principe Felipo ma- || ria tercio duque de Milan ꝛ de Pauia || ꝛ conede de aguera: ꝛ señor de Genoua: || por Pedro candido dezimbre su sieruo. || El qual fue impresso en la muy noble ꝛ muy leal cibdad de Seuilla. por Mey || nardo vngud aleman: ꝛ Lançalao po- || lono compañeros. acabose a .xvj. de ma || yo. año de mill y quatrocientos y nouen || ta y seys. || Printers' mark. fol. G.L. 2 coll. 4 preliminary leaves and 108 leaves foliated i-cviij. 45 ll. fol. cv-cviii contain the comparison of Caesar and Alexander by Candidus.

1496, nov. 8. Bocaccio, Ciento novelas.

B. N. Brussels. — Hain 3284.

[1] Note obtained from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

Collation[1]: tit.: Las. c. no || uelas de Juã || Bocacio. fol. 1: Aqui comiença el li- || bro de las cient nouellas de micer Juan || boccacio de certaldo poeta eloquente.|| Prologo.|| [Q]Uãdo yo muy || nobles señoras || &c. fol. cxcvii. recto: Aqui se acaban las Ciento nouellas || de Miçer juan boccacio. poeta eloquẽ- || te. Impressas en la muy noble ⁊ muy le- || al cibdad de Seuilla: por Meinardo || vngut alemano. ⁊ Stanislao polono cõ || pañeros. En el año de ñro señor Mill || quatrociẽtos nouẽta ⁊ seys. a ocho dias || del mes de Noviembre. || Printers' mark. fol. G.L. 2 coll. 4 preliminary leaves. 197 leaves fol. i-cxcvii. 45 ll. sig. a-z^{10}.

1497, s.d. Diaz de Toledo, Forma libellandi.

Gallardo 2568.

1497, s.d. Gorricio, Contemplaciones del rosario.

Mendez-Hid. p. 99, no. 54. Hain 7813.

1497, febr. 18. Boecio, Consolacion.

Bodley. — Gallardo 2333. Hain 3366.

1497, febr. 21. Vergel de consolacion.

Bodley. — Gallardo 1266. Really the second part of the preceding.

1497, febr. 28. Guillermo de Paris, Postilla evangelica.

B. U. Sevilla. — Mendez-Hid. p. 349, no. 19.

1497, june 26. Bonaventura, Forma de los novicios.

Brit. Mus. — Gallardo 1496. Hain 3509 (gives it the date 1496).

1497, oct. 21. Vergel de consolacion.

Salvá 3854 note.

1498, febr. 26. Cauliaco, Inventario.

Hain-Copinger 4818.

1498, march 29. Diaz de Montalvo, Ordenanzas Reales.

B. N. Paris. B. U. Granada.

Collation[2]: [fol. i.] Woodcut. [O]Rdenãças reales por las quales || primeramente se han de librar to || dos los pleytos ciuiles ⁊ crimina || les. E los que por ellas nose ha- || llaren determinados se han de li || brar por las otras leyes ⁊ fueros || ⁊ derechos.|| fol. cxciiii. col. 2: Este presente libro mando ymprimir || Lazaro de Gazanis a mi Menardo || ungut Aleman: ⁊ Lançalao Polono || compañeros. E acabose a veynte ⁊ nue || ue dias de Março. año dela salud chri || stiana de mill quatrocientos: ⁊ nouen- || ta ⁊ ocho. [Printers' device.] fol. G.L. 2 coll. ff. 194, fol. [i]-cxciiii. sig. a-z, ⁊.

[1] Note obtained from M. Fetis, Brussels.
[2] Note obtained from M. Leopold Delisle, Paris.

1498, may 10. Martinez de Toledo, arcipreste de Talavera, Vicios y virtudes de las mujeres.
B. N. Paris. — Salvá 1893 note.

1498, dec. 20. Bonifacius, Peregrina.
B. N. Paris. B. N. Madrid. — Escudero 70. Hain 3630.

1499, oct. 14. Boecio, de consolacion.
Mendez-Hid. p. 351, no. 22. Salvá 3855.

1499. oct. 24. Vergel de consolacion.
Salvá 3855.

s.l.e.a. Leyes del quaderno nuevo de alcabalas.
Mendez-Hid. p. 348, no. 14. Escudero 106 (printers not named).

s.l.e.a.

Escudero 108 and 109 quotes two more editions of the Ordenanzas Reales by Diaz de Montalvo, but we may doubt whether they really exist.

STANISLAUS POLONUS.

1499, nov. 12. Mena, Coronacion.
Brit. Mus.
Collation: Fol. 1 wanting. Fol. 2: Aqui comiença la coronacion com || puesta por Juan de mena al Mar || ques Iñigo lopez de mendoça. Fol. 103 verso: Acaban se las cinquenta de Juan de Mena sobre la coronaciõ de yni || go lopes de mendoça. || Deo gracias. ff. 104. ll. 28. sig. a-n in eights.

1500, march 20. Ricoldus, Improbatio Alcorani.
B. N. Madrid. B. Prov. Toledo. — Gallardo 3624. Hain 13913.

1500, april 24. Pulgar, Claros varones.
Brit. Mus. — Salvá 3493.

1500, may 22. Pulgar, Claros varones.
Gallardo 3537. Hain-Copinger 13593.

1500, june 22. Da Gui, Metaphysica & de differentiis.
B. V. Perpignan. — Mendez-Hid. p. 104, no. 72. Hain 8153 and 8147.

1500, nov. 26. Ordenamiento de los reyes catolicos.
Escudero 93.

[1501 (s.d. ?). *Celestina.*
Escudero 115.]

[1501, july 13. *Historia de Enrique fi de Oliva.*
Salvá 1595.]

[1502, april 3. *Santillana, Bias contra fortuna.*
Escudero 119.]

[1502, april 3. *Valera, Tractado de providencia.*
Escudero 120.]

[1502, april 12. *Santaella, Manual de doctrina.*
Gallardo 2213.]

The work of Stanislaus and Kromberger (five issues) has been registered by Escudero, Tipografia Hispalense, 125 ss. The Alcalá books of Stanislaus are splendidly described by Perez Pastor, Tipografia Complutense.

VALENTIN FERNANDEZ DE MORAVIA AT LISBON.

1496, april 20 (not 29). Estoria do muy nobre Vespasiano.
B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 373, no. 1.

1500, febr. 21. Cataldus, (i.) Epistolae et Orationes, (ii.) Opera.
Bodley. B. U. Goettingen. — Hain 4678.

s.a. Kamintus, Regimen contra pestilentiam.
Hain 9758.

s.a. Pedro, Itinerario.
Hain 12542.

[1502, febr. 4. *Marco Polo.*
Volger p. 103.]

[1503, s.d. *Cavalleiro, Ars virginis Mariae.*
Noronha, Ordenanças do reino, p. 26.]

[1504, march 29. *Regimento dos officiaes das cidades.*
Noronha l.c. pp. 11 and 28.]

[1504, s.d. *Ortiz, Cathecismo pequenho.*
Noronha l.c. p. 26.]

[1504, s.d. *Regra e diffinições do mestrado de nosso senhor Jesu Xristo.*
Noronha l.c. p. 27.]

[1505 (s.d. ?). *Os autos dos apostolos.*
Noronha l.c. p. 27.]

Fernandez de Moravia at Lisbon.

[1512, dec. 17. *O primeiro das Ordenações.*
Noronha l.c. p. 21.]

[1513, nov. 19. *O segundo livro das Ordenações.*
Noronha l.c. p. 22.]

VALENTIN FERNANDEZ DE MORAVIA AND NICOLAUS DE SAXONIA.

1495, aug. 14. Ludolfus de Saxonia, Vita Christi, Pt. I. sept. 7, Pt. II. nov. 20, Pt. III. (1496 ?) mai 14, Pt. IV.
B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 143, no. 6. Hain 10301.

XVIII. JUAN DE BURGOS AT BURGOS AND VALLADOLID.

Burgos.

1490, march 12. Aegidius de Columna, Cronica Troyana.
B. N. Lisbon. — Mendez-Hid. p. 367, no. 1.
Collation: a_1 wanting. a_2 recto: Esta siguiente cronica muy reuerendo y muy magnifico señor Es partida en quatro partes principales. . . . a_2 verso: Comiença la cronica troyana dirigida al muy reueren || disimo ⁊ muy magnifico señor don matheo de la puer || ta arçobispo de salerno compuesta ⁊ copilada por el fa || moso poeta ⁊ ystoriador guido de coluna. . . . T_6: Aqui fenesce la troyana ystoria. La q̃l || fue impresa por juan de burgos a dose || dias del mes de março año del nascimiẽ || to de nuestro saluador ihesu xp̃o de mill || ⁊ quatrocientos y nouenta años. Fue || impresa en la muy noble ⁊ muy leal cib || dad de burgos.|| fol. G.L. ff. 150, 2 coll. 39 ll. sig. A^8-S^8, T^6.

1491, april. Caesar, de bello Gallico.
Mendez-Hid. p. 135, no. 9.

1495, march 24. A. de Li, Repertorio de los tiempos.
B. U. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 368, no. 6.

1495, may 15. Epilogo en medicina y cirugia.
B. U. Madrid. B. N. Brussels. — Mendez-Hid. p. 136, no. 12.
Collation[1]*:* f. i. (title) Epilogo en medicina y ci || rugia cõbeniẽte a la salud || fol. ii. *recto.* Prologo. || [P]Or q̃nto el phisico es artifi || ce sensitiuo : ⁊ por señales || conosce las causas de las || dolencias : necesario es q̃ || en el administrar de las medicinas : ca || te cõ discreciõ las principales condi || ciones d'las señales. . . . fol. lxviii. *verso:* Fue acabada la presente obra por || juã de burgos en la muy noble : ⁊ mas || leal cibdad de burgos a .xv. dias del || mes de mayo año de mill.

[1] Note obtained from M. Fetis, Brussels.

ꝛ quatroci- || entos : ꝛ nouenta : ꝛ cinco años. fol. G. L. ff. 67 numbered i-lxviii, the number xiv being omitted, 2 coll. 41 ll. sig. a^8, b^8, c^6, d^7, e^8, f^8, g^8, h^8, i^4, k^4. XVIII. Juan de Burgos.

1497, febr. 18. Cerezo, Gramatica.
Mendez-Hid. p. 137, no. 16.

1497, may 6. Cartagena Doctrina e instruccion de la arte de cavalleria.
B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 1628. Hain 6313 and 4540 (sine typographo).

1498, febr. 10. Baladro del sabio Merlin.
Gallardo 931. Hain 11084.

1499, aug. 8. Villena, Trabajos de Hercules.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 371, no. 8. Hain-Copinger 1545.

1499, aug. 8. Lucena, Vita beata.
B. Prov. Toledo. — Mendez-Hid. p. 140, no. 22. Hain 10256.

VALLADOLID.

1500, febr. 15. Salustio Catilinario.
B. N. Madrid. B. U. Cagliari. B. Col. Sevilla. — Salvá 2791 note. Hain 14235.

1500, s.d. Diaz, Libro de albeyteria.
B. U. Madrid. — Gallardo 2058.

[1501, s.d. *La historia de Oliveros y Artus.*
Gallardo 974.]

[1501, febr. 12. *Tristan de Leonis.*
Heredia 2435.]

BURGOS.

[1502, oct. 8. *Lucena, Vita beata.*
Gallardo 2755.]

XIX. PETER MICHAEL AT BARCELONA.

1491 (not 1481), aug. 16. Sulpitius, opusculum.
Mendez-Hid. p. 51, no. 20. Hain 15148.

XIX. Peter Michael.

1491, aug. 22. Paulus, Libellus inscriptus Barcinona.
Salvá 3111.

1492 (s.d. ?). Januarius, Epistola s. Ingressus facilis rerum intelligi-ilium.
B. Prov. Palma. — Volger p. 96.

1493 (s.d. ?). Vida e transit de S. Jeronimo.
Mendez-Hid. p. 51, no. 22.

1493 (s.d. ?). Lull, Theologia.
Hain 10319.

1493 (s.d. ?). S. Ambrosius, de officiis.
Mendez-Hid. p. 330, no. 6. Hain 912.

1493, may 10. Lull, Proverbia.
Mendez-Hid. p. 52, no. 24. Hain 10325.

1493 (not 1483), july 16. S. Bonaventura, Meditationes.
Brit. Mus. — Hain-Copinger 3561. [Hain 3559 = "1483."]

1493, nov. 24. Bonetus, Metaphysica.
Brit. Mus. B. R. Munich. — Hain 3580.

1494, april 24. Ovidio, Transformacions.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. — Salvá 843. Hain-Copinger 12167.

1494, sept. 4. Ximenes, Libre dels angels.
B. U. Valencia. — Salvá 3893.

1497, sept. 16. Martorell, Tirant lo blanc (finished by Diego de Gumiel).
Gallardo 1218. Hain 10862 = sine typographo.

Erroneous.

1498. Bulls of indulgences.
Mendez-Hid. p. 170. Hain 4083.

1499. S. Bonaventura, Meditationes.
Mendez-Hid. p. 331, no. 13. Hain 3563.

XX. JUAN ROSENBACH AT BARCELONA, TARRAGONA, PERPIGNAN, ETC.

Barcelona.

1492, oct. 2. Pedro Pascual, Biblia pequeña.
Volger p. 97. Hain 12433.

1493 (?). Colon, Carta á Luis de Santangel.
Facsimile edition: The Spanish letter to Luis de Sant' Angel . . . dated 15 febr. 1493 reprinted . . . from the unique copy. . . . London, Quaritch, 1892. 4°.

1493, sept. 18. Niger, de modo epistolandi.
Mendez-Hid. p. 52, no. 25. Hain 11869.

1493, sept. 18. San Pedro, Carcer d'amor.
Brit. Mus. — Salvá 1675 note.

1494, febr. 14. Constituciones fetes per D. Fernando.
Univ. Lib. Cambridge. B. N. Paris. B. Ste. Geneviève, Paris. — Salvá 3641 note. Hain-Copinger 5669.

1494, may 30. The same.
Mendez-Hid. p. 330, no. 7.

1494, june 21. Ximenes, Libre dels angels.
B. N. Paris. B. U. Valencia. B. Prov. Palma. — Salvá 3893 note. Hain 16233.

1495, may 8. Ximenes, de las donas.
B. N. Paris. B. V. Marseilles. B. V. Perpignan. — Heredia 3587. Hain 16235.

1495, june 4. Tomic, Historia.
B. N. Madrid. B. U. Barcelona. — Mendez-Hid. p. 330, no. 8.

1495, nov. 27. Boteler, Escala de Paradis.
Salvá 3857.

1498, march 17. Donatus, commentarii super Terentii comoediis.
Mendez-Hid. p. 57, no. 40.

TARRAGONA.

XX. Juan Rosenbach.

1498, sept. 18. Liber hymnorum.
B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 387, no. 2.

1499, june 26. Missale Tarraconense.
Mendez-Hid. p. 178, no. 2. Hain 11433.

PERPIGNAN.

1500, s.d. Breviarium Elnense.
B. Ste. Geneviève, Paris. — Hain-Copinger 3835.

[1502, s.d. (?). *Ximenes, Vita Christi.*
Volger p. 111.]

[s.l. 1510. *Libro del estilo de escribir.*
Harrisse, Excerpta Colombina, p. 7.]

BARCELONA.

[1515. *Libro de menescalia.*
Salvá 2613 note.]

[1515. *Libro de albeyteria.*
Perez Pastor, La imprenta en Toledo, 69 note.]

MONTSERRAT.

[1518, july 30-1524, march 19. *Misales, Breviarios, Diurnales, Horas de Ntra Señora.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 175, no. 48 ss. cf. Heredia 140 = sine typographo.]

BARCELONA.

[1519. *Granollach, Lunari e repertori dels temps.*
Picatoste, Ensayo de una biblioteca cientifica del siglo XVI. no. 356.]

[1519, jan. 13. *Legatio ad Caesarem.*
Panzer, Annales typographici, vol. ix. p. 389.]

[1522, oct. 2. *Nebrissensis, Introductiones in latinam grammaticam.*
Gallardo 2634. This is the real date of the book, not 1500, oct. 22, as quoted sometimes.]

[1526, jan. 1. *Verinus, de puerorum moribus.*
Heredia 1568.]

[1526, s.d. (?). *Cicero, Oficios.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 60.]

[1528, aug. 5. *Ortigues, Plant de la verge Maria.*
Gallardo 3278.]

[1530. *Ordinarium sacramentorum sec. ritum Taraconensem.*
Volger p. 97.]

With the Types of Rosenbach.

s.l.e.a. Malla, Memorial del Pecador remut (ca 1495).
Salvá 3941.

[s.a. *Aegidius, Dialogus in honorem Caesaris.*
Panzer, Annales, vol. ix. p. 389.]

[s.l.e.a. *Argelata, Chirurgia.*
Salvá 2684.]

Erroneous.

Bullae indulgentiarum p. magistrum Johannem.
Hain 4082. Printed by John Luschner.

XXI. JOHAN FRANCOUR AT VALLADOLID.

1492, febr. 3. Tractado breve de confesion.
B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 380, no. 1.

1493, june 28. Hordenanças para la reformacion de la audiencia.
Mendez-Hid. p. 380, no. 2.

1493, july 4. Diaz de Toledo, Notas del relator.
Volger p. 121. Hain-Copinger 13853.

XXII. PETER HAGENBACH AND LEONHARD HUTZ AT VALENCIA AND TOLEDO.

Valencia.

1493, sept. 6. Furs nous fets en les corts generals.
B. U. Valencia. — Salvá 3679, 2.

XXII. Peter Hagenbach.

1495, april 11. Podio, Commentaria musices.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. B. N. Lisbon. — Gallardo 3529. Hain 13151.

There is no edition dated 1496, by the same printers, as indicated in the Anuario del cuerpo facultativo de archivos bibliotecas y museos, vol. i. p. 325. Mr. Julio Amarillas tells me that the copies of the B. Prov. Caceres are of 1495.

The Same at the Expenses of Jaime de Vila.

1493, jan. 11. Fenollar, Istoria de la passió.

B. N. Madrid. B. U. Valencia. B. U. Cagliari. B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí, Catalogo, vol. iii. p. 69. Hain 6967.

A collation of the Valencia copy, received from Señor Joaq. Casañ y Alegre, too late for insertion in full, shows that the Contemplació á la sacrat verge Maria (Mendez-Hid. p. 40, no. 21) and the Contemplació á Jesus crucificat (Hain 6687) are really only parts of this book.

1494, febr. 21. Hores de la setmana sancta.

B. U. Valencia. — Mendez-Hid. p. 325, no. 7.

1495, jan. 8. Miravet, Ars grammatica.

Mendez-Hid. p. 42, no. 31. Hain 11240.

PETER HAGENBACH AT TOLEDO.

1498, feb. 26. Leyes del estilo.

Gallardo 629.

1498, april 4. Gutierrez de Toledo, Cura de la piedra.

Brit. Mus. B. U. Madrid. B. N. Madrid. — Pastor 10. Hain-Copinger 8336.

1498, july 14. Cesar, Comentarios.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Madrid. — Salvá 2779. Hain 4225.

1499, june 1. Missale mixtum.

B. N. Madrid. B. Cap. Toledo. — Pastor 12.

1499, august 17. (Libros menores.)

Pastor 13.

1499, october 29. Martinez de Toledo, Tratado contra las mujeres.

Gallardo 2958. Hain 10828.

1500, jan. 9. Missale mixtum.

Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. N. Lisbon. B. I. Vienna. — Pastor 15. Hain-Copinger 11336.

1500, febr. 10. Seneca, Proverbios.

Mendez-Hid. p. 376. Hain 14653.

1500, febr. 25. Garcia de Villalpando, Instruccion de la vida christiana.

Mendez-Hid. p. 148, no. 9.

1500, april 13. Orationes sacre cum lectionibus.

Salvá 3961.

1500, may 31. Gerson, Contemptus mundi.

B. I. Vienna.

Collation[1]: f. (I.) recto: Woodcut and below: Contemptus mundi. verso: Printer's mark. f. II.: Comiença el libro primero de juan || gerson chāciller de paris de remedar xp̄o: ⁊ del me || nosprecio de todas las vanidades del mũdo. Cap̄. j || [Q]Uien me sigue: no || &c. f. 106 recto: Fin. || Fenecen los quatro libros de Juan || Gerson canceller de paris del meno || sprecio del mundo. E otro su tracta- || do pequeño dela imaginacion del co || raçõ. Inpressa por maestre pedro ha || genbach aleman enla: muy noble ⁊ || muy leal cibdad de Toledo. A. xxxj. || dias del mes de mayo. Año del nasci || miẽto de nuestro saluador jesu cristo || de mil ⁊ quinientos años. f. (106) verso: Tabla. f. (110) recto: Fin de la presente tabla. || Protestacion muy deuota a nr̃o señor jesu cristo. verso: Woodcut. 8°. G. L. ff. 110. numbered 1-106 and four unnumbered leaves. 31 ll. sig. a-o.

1500, june 2. San Pedro, Carcel de amor.

Gallardo 3229.

1500, july 20. Martinez de Toledo, De los vicios de las malas mugeres.

Brit. Mus. — Salvá 1893 note.

1500, aug. 31. Sabundius, Viola anime.

B. N. Lisbon. B. N. Madrid. B. Prov. Toledo. — Pastor 20.

[1502, s.d. (?). *Ricoldus, Reprobacion del Alcoran.*

Pastor 26.]

[1] Note obtained from Herr Goeldlin von Tiefenau, Vienna.

XXII. Peter Hagenbach. [1502, march 5. *Seneca, Epistolas.*
Volger 117.]

[1502, april 4. *Bocados de oro.*
Pastor 23.]

[1502, oct. 25. *Breviarium sec. regulam b. Hysidori.*
Pastor 24.]

[1504, april 6. *Antoninus de Florencia, Suma de confesion: Defecerunt.*
Pastor 29.]

[1504, nov. 8. *S. Juan Climaco, Tablas & Escalera spiritual.*
Pastor 31.]

[1505, jan. 3. *S. Joannes Climacus, Scala spiritualis.*
Pastor 35.]

[1505, april 18. *Angela de Fulginio*, and

[1505, may 31. *Arnaldus, Revelationes b. Melchiadys* (in one volume).
Pastor 33.]

[s.a. *Constituciones synodales de Toledo.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 397, no. 13.]

With the Founts of Hagenbach.

s.l. et a. et typ. Leyes del estilo.
B. R. Munich.
Collation: f. (i.) (Royal arms.) Leyes del estilo. E || declaraciones sobre || las leies del fuero. ||. verso: blank. f. ii. Aqui comiēçan las leyes del || estilo: q̃ por otra manera se || llamā declaraciō de las leyes || &c. Last leaf, f. xxxiiii, wanting to the copy. The text ends on f. xxxi. col. 2. fol. G. L. ff. 34 (numbered). 2 coll. 44 ll. sig. a^8, b^8, c^8, d^8, e^4.

XXIII. GONZALO RODRIGO DE LA PASERA AND JUAN DE PORRAS AT MONTEREY.

1404, febr. 3. Missale Montis Regii, s. Auriense.
B. N. Madrid. — Hain 11335.

1500, febr. 22. Ferdinandus Rhoensis, Commentarius in politicorum libros Aristotelis. XXIII. Juan de Porras.

B. N. Paris. — Mendez-Hid. p. 363, no. 14.

[1506, july. *Ledesma, Monumenta ordinis minorum.*
Gallardo 2667.]

[1506, nov. 19. *Manuale chori fratrum minorum.*
Heredia 138.]

[1510, april 15. *Amadis de Gaula lib. VI.* (*Florisando.*)
Gallardo 378.]

[1516, april. *Arator Cardinalis, Historia apostolica.*
Panzer, Annales typographici, vol. viii. p. 288.]

XXIV. DIEGO DE GUMIEL AT BARCELONA, VALLADOLID, AND VALENCIA.

Barcelona.

1494, oct. 27. Ximenes, Scala dei.
B. Ac. Hist. Madrid. — Salvá 3895.

1495, jan. 3. Flors de virtuts e de costums.
Brit. Mus. — Salvá 3900.

1497, s.d. Isaac, De ordinatione animae.
Mendez-Hid. p. 56, no. 38. Hain 9269.

1497, sept. 17. Martorell, Tirant lo Blanc.
See the work of Peter Michael.

1499, oct. 16. Villadei, Doctrinale.
B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 331, no. 10.

Valladolid.

[1503, febr. 15. *Palacios Rubios, Repetitio rubricarum.*
Gallardo 2774.]

[1506, nov. 25. *Molina, Arte de canto llano Lux videntis dicha.*
Gallardo 3084.]

XXIV. Diego de Gumiel.

[1509, april 21. *Guillen de Avila, Panegirico de D. Isabel.*
Heredia 1849.]

[1510, s.d. *Petrarca, De los remedios contra fortuna.*
Heredia 348.]

[1511, may 28. *Martorell, Tirante lo Blanco.*
Gallardo 1219.]

[1512, aug. 30. *Perez de Guzman, Mar de istorias.*
Heredia 2907.]

[s.a. *Savonarola, Exposicion sobre el psalmo Miserere.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 183, no. 7.]

VALENCIA.

[1513, s.d. *Question de amor de dos enamorados.*
Gallardo 1063.]

[1515, febr. 12. *Lull, Ars inventiva veritatis.*
B. R. Dresden. — Heredia 324.]

[1515, oct. 30. *Aureum opus regalium privilegiorum Valentiae.*
Heredia 3214.]

[1516, may 10. *Libro de Floriseo.*
Gallardo 741.]

XXV. GERALDUS PREUS AND JOHANN LUSCHNER AT BARCELONA.

1495, july 9. Villadei, Doctrinale.
B. Prov. Palma. — Mendez-Hid. p. 265.

1496, june 16. Missale Vicense.
Volger p. 98. Mendez p. 331, no. 9.

JOHANN LUSCHNER AT BARCELONA.

1498, may. Bulls of indulgences.
Mendez p. 169, no. 4. Hain 4282.

1498, oct. 22. Aegidius de Columna, Regimiento de principes.
B. N. Paris. B. U. Valencia. — Gallardo 4519.

1499, s.d. Missale Benedictinum.

Mendez-Hid. p. 174, no. 41. Hain 11268.

1499, april 16. S. Bonaventura, Meditationes.

B. N. Lisbon. — Salvá 3862 note. Hain 3556.

1499, may 16. Gerardus de Zutphania, Tractatus de spirituali ascensione.

Mendez-Hid. p. 173, no. 37. Hain 16297.

1499, may 27. S. Bonaventura, Parvum bonum.

B. N. Lisbon. — Hain 3500.

Collation[1]*:* (a_1:) Liber sancti Bonauenture || qui incendium amoris dici- || tur. alias regimen conscien- || tie vel fons vite. || a_2: Evigilans vero aīaȝ meam &c. (d_8 *verso:*) Explicit paruū bonū: siue regimē || conscientie: quod vocatur fons vite || vna cum ope contemplationis. ad || omnes horas canonicas per totaȝ || hebdomadam a seraphico doctore || sancto bonauentura editum. ad per || maximā vtilitateȝ in vita spiritua- || li proficere cupientium/ in Monaste || rio beate Marie virginis de monte || serrato/ ordinis sancti benedicti de || obseruantia. Impressum per Johā || neȝ luscher alamanū. Sub impensis || eiusdem monasterij. Anno domini || Millesimo quadringentesimo nona- || gesimonono .xxvij. mensis Maij || Deo gratias.|| 8°. G. L. ff. 32. 27 ll. sig. a^8-d^8. Woodcut on verso of title-page.

1499, june 12 (or 2 ?). S. Benedictus, Regula.

B. U. Santiago. — Mendez-Hid. p. 174, no. 39. Hain 2776[a].

1499, june 16. S. Bonaventura, Instructio novitiorum.

B. N. Madrid. — Mendez-Hid. p. 174, no. 40. Hain 3508.

1500, s.d. (?). Hymni.

Hain 9070.

1500, s.d. (?). Gerson, Epistola.

Mendez-Hid. p. 175, no. 47. Hain 7731.

1500, april 18. Breviarium Benedictinum.

Mendez-Hid. p. 175, no. 45. Hain 3806 (= 1499).

1500, aug. 26. Procesionarium.

Brit. Mus. — Mendez-Hid. p. 174, no. 42. Hain 13379.

[1] Note obtained from Senhores Leite de Vasconcelhos and J. A. Moniz, Lisbon.

XXV. Johann Luschner.

1500, sept. 30. Directorio de las horas canonicas.
Mendez-Hid. p. 175, no. 46. Hain 6270.

1500, nov. 13. Cisneros, Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Cagliari. — Heredia 3589. Hain 5366.

1500, nov. 13. Directorium horarum canonicarum. Exercitatorium vite spiritualis.
B. Prov. Palma. — Heredia 139.

s.a. Bullae.
Hain 4084.

BARCELONA.

[1501, june 15. *Amiguet, Lectura.*
B. U. Madrid. — Gallardo 183.]

[1502, sept. 14. *Consulado de mar.*
Salvá 3642.]

[1502, dec. 2. ?
Volger p. 98.]

[1503, sept. 28. *Eymeric, Directorium inquisitorum.*
B. Col. Sevilla. — Gallardo 2157.]

[1505, jan. 2. *Perpeña, Suma.*
Gallardo 3472.]

[1505, sept. 7. *Marquilles, Commentarius super usaticis Barchinone.*
B. U. Cagliari. B. N. Madrid. — Heredia 296.]

[s.a. *Lo plant de la reina Ecuba.*
Harrisse, Excerpta Colombina, p. 8.]

XXVI. CRISTOBAL COFMAN, VALENCIA.

1499, jan. 28. Ximenes, Regiment de la cosa publica.
B. Prov. Palma. — Salvá 3666.

[1499, s.d.] Vida de S. Onofre.
B. U. Valencia.

1499, may 11. Raymundus de Capua, Vida de S. Catherina de Sena.
B. U. Valencia. — Salvá 3834 note.

These two books are bound up together in a richly-decorated volume in the B. U. Valencia, and prove to be printed together. Salvá's note as to the existence of an edition of 1484, which has been accepted on his authority by all bibliographers—myself not excepted (see p. 29)—is a mistake. Fuster, to whom Salvá appeals, dates the book, not 1484, but 1494, but it really bears the date 1499, as will be seen by the following description:

Collation[1]: f.(1) recto: blank. Verso: woodcut; below: La uida de || stō honofre.|| f. (2) Començа la vida de Sanct Onofre || confessor e hermita.|| En lo temps de thesio || doro rey de vngria: los cris || tiās de aq̄lles partides erē || molt ardets &c. f. (25) Per lo teu fill jesucrist senyor nostre: qui ab tu viu e re || gna en vnitat dl sperit sanct eternamēt. amen. vers || Prega p nos benauēturat onofre: Perço que siā || fets digne deles punissions de jesucrist amen.|| Deo gracias. 8°. G. L. ff. 25. ll. 31. without foliation. No subscription, because there follows on next page:

f. (1) recto: La uida de sancta || Catherina de sena. Verso: woodcut. The text begins on f. (3) Iesus || Scriu Miguel pereç ales senyores || monjes del monestir de sancta Catherina de Sena. || &c. f. (41) A honor lahor y gloria dela jmmensa e sancti || ssima trinitat, y p. manifestar dela excelēt vg̃e sancta ca || therina de Sena la seraffica deuotissima y deifica vi || da: fon p vn seu jndigne dūot ab letres demprēpta || enla inclita ciutat de Valencia feta effigiar la psent || obra p lo expert mestre Cristofol cofman alamany || En lo any dela jocundissima natauitat del redēptor || y saluador nostre senyor deu jesucrist a xi del mes de maig: Mil.cccc.lxxxxviiij. Verso: woodcut. f. (43 and 44) Cobles en lahor dela gloriosa Sancta Cathe || rina de Sena: fetes per lo magnifich Mossen || Narcis vinyoles. 8°. G. L. ff. 44. ll. 31. without foliation.

The list of *incunabula* of the B. U. Valencia (Anuario del cuerpo facultativo de archivos bibliotecas y museos, tom. i. p. 227) gives the date 1489 for both books, but this, too, is erroneous.

1500, oct. 21. Gregorius de Arimino, Questiones.
B. V. Arras. B. U. Leipzig. — Gallardo 288. Hain 1644 (s. typ.).

[1502, dec. 4. *Ystoria de Joseph, fill de Ely.*
Salva 3434 note.]

[1502, nov. 18. *Amiguet, Sinonima variationum sententiarum.*
B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí vol. i. p. 94.]

[1511, jan. 15. *Castillo, Cancionero general.*
B. R. Dresden. B. N. Madrid. — Gallardo 1711.]

[1] Note obtained from Señor Casañ y Alegre, Valencia.

Hans Giesser.

[1501, s.d. (?) *Forus legum regni Castellae.*
B. U. Cagliari. — Toda, Bibliografia española de Cerdeña, p. 61.]

[1401 (*sic*), nov. 22. *Leonardus Aretinus ad Colutium in Basilii librum praefatio.*
Mendez-Hid. p. 23, no. 59.]

[1501, dec. 20. *Leo Baptista, Comedia Philodoxeos.*
Gallardo 3559.]

[1502, june 23. *Leyes del estilo.*
Gallardo 630.]

[1502, nov. 3. *Costana, Tractatus super decalogo.*
B. Col. Sevilla. — Arbolí, Catalogo, vol. ii. p. 203.]

[1503, june 21. *Alfonsus X. Historia de Ultramar.*
Salvá 1616.]

[1506, nov. 3. *Costana, Tractatus de confessione.*
Gallardo 1941.]

[1506, sept. 28. *El Tostado, Comm. sobre Eusebio*, Pt. I. nov. 20, Pt. II. 1507, febr. 9, Pt. III. march 13, Pt. IV. april 22, Pt. V.]

[1507, aug. 26. *Tostado, Diez questiones.*]

[1507, sept. 10. *Tostado, Quatro questiones.*
Salvá 4021.]

[1507, jan. 5. *Encina, Cancionero.*
Salvá 231, 4.]

[1508, oct. 17. *Francisco de Avila, La vida y la muerte.*
Gallardo 304.]

[1509, aug. 7. *Encina, Cancionero.*
Gallardo 2072.]

With the Mark of Giesser.

[s.l.e.a. *Leyes del estilo.*
Gallardo 631.]

DOUBTFUL PRESSES.

ALVARO DE CASTRO AT HUETE.

1485, aug. 23. Diaz de Montalvo, Copilacion de Leyes s. Ordenanzas Reales. Doubtful Presses.
Brit. Mus.

ALFONSO D'ORTA AT LEIRIA.

1496, s.d. Zacuthus, Tabulae astronomicae.
B. N. Lisbon. B. Col. Sevilla. — Gallardo 4068.

GABRIEL POU AT BARCELONA.

[1405 (*sic*), june 23. Virgilii Aeneidos libri XII.
Brit. Mus.]

JUAN DE REI AT BURGOS.

1499, s.d. Gomez de Ciudad Real, Centon Epistolario.
B. I. Vienna. B. N. Lisbon. — Hain 7792.]

JACOBUS VILLAGUSA AT SEVILLE.

1498, s.d. Vincentius de Castronovo, Disputatio de conceptione.
Mendez-Hid. p. 102, no. 61. Hain 2354 and 4647.

OFFICIUM INQUISITIONIS AT SEVILLE.

1500, june 17. Deza, Statuta s. instructiones.
Escudero 86. Hain 6039.

ANONYMOUS BOOKS.[1]

Barcelona, ca. 1484. Libre del Consolat.
Brit. Mus.

1495, febr. 20. Usatges de Barcelona.
Vente Maisonneuve, 18 and 19 janvier, 1894, no. 311.

Burgos, 1499, may 25. Oliveros de Castilla.
Gallardo 973. A copy at the European Exhibition, Madrid, 1892.

Seville, 1496. Johannes Junior, Scala coeli.
Hain 9409.

[1] For anonymous Salamanca books see *supra* (VI.).

1496 (s.d. ?). Diaz de Montalvo, Repertorio.
B. U. Oviedo.

1496, jan. 12. Mena, Labirinto.
Brit. Mus. — Hain 11071.

1500 (s.d. ?). Summa utilissima errorum.
B. Prov. Toledo.

s.a. Talavera, Impugnatio catholica.
Hain 15228.
The Oliverius, Opus tripartitum, quoted by Hain 11564 as an anonymous Sevillan issue, is printed in Siena, and not in Spain.

Valencia, 1491, feb. 16. Gerson, Menyspreu de aquest mon.
Brit. Mus. — Hain 9133. Gallardo 3423.

1493, febr. 25. Breve tratat de confesió.
Brit. Mus. — Salvá 3874.

1493, sept. 16. Menaguerra, Caballero.
Mendez-Hid. p. 324, no. 5.

1494, s.d. Roig, Opus de patre non incarnato.
Salvá 3985. Hain 14011.

1494, sept. 16. Albert, Repertorium de pravitate haereticorum.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. B. V. Aix. — Hain 13875. Gallardo 73.

1495, febr. 16. Ruiz de Corella, Lo quart del Cartoxa.
Brit. Mus. B. U. Cagliari. — Hain 10300 (4). Salvá 3434.

1495, june 8. Cordial del anima. De quatuor novissimis.
Salvá 3876 note.

1495, nov. 6. Ruiz de Corella, Lo quart del Cartoxa.
Mendez-Hid. p. 41, no. 28.

1496, april 13. The same : Lo primer del Cartoxa.
B. N. Paris. B. U. Cagliari. — Gallardo 3728.

1500, s.d. The same : Lo segon del Cartoxa.
Brit. Mus. B. N. Paris. — Hain 10300 (2). Salvá 3433.

Place unknown, s.l.e.a. Diaz de Montalvo, Secunda compilatio legum.
Brit. Mus.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Except where otherwise stated, all the illustrations have been taken from copies in the British Museum.

I. *Libre del Consolat*, without place, name of printer, or date, but Barcelona, c. 1484. The first page of text.

II. Diego de San Pedro, *Carcel de amor*. Barcelona, J. Rosenbach, 1493. Recto of the eighteenth leaf.

III. (*a*) *Flors de vertuts*. Barcelona, Diego de Gumiel, 1495. Title-page.
(*b*) Felipe de Malla, *Memorial del Peccador Remut*. Without place, name of printer, or date, but Barcelona, J. Rosenbach, c. 1495. Title-page.

IV. (*a*) Mingo Revulgo, *Coplas*. Without place, name of printer, or date; but one of the first books printed at Burgos by Friedrich Biel. Recto of the eighteenth leaf.
(*b*) Alonso de Cartagena, *Doctrinal de los cavalleros*. Burgos, F. Biel, 1487. Recto of the fifth leaf, upper half.

V. (*a*) *La passion de Christo*. Without name of place or of printer, or date, but Burgos, F. Biel, c. 1493. Verso of the thirteenth leaf, upper part.
(*b*) Enrique de Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hercules*. Burgos, Juan de Burgos, 1499. Two of the twelve metal cuts illustrating the labours.

VI. *Breviarium Illerdense*. Lerida, Henr. Botel, 1479. A page from the copy of the *Sanctorale* in the Bodleian Library.

VII., VIII. *Processionarium*. Monserrate, Joh. Luschner, 1500. Title-page, and verso of the forty-fifth leaf (numbered XLIII., sig. f 3).

IX. Petrus de Castrovol, *Expositio super symbolum Quicunque vult*. Pampelona, Arn. Guillen de Brocar, without date, but c. 1496. Verso of the first leaf.

X. Juan Ramirez de Lucena, *Repeticion de amores, e arte de axedres.* Without place, name of printer, or date, but Salamanca, Leon. Hutz and Lupus Sanz, c. 1496. Title-page.

XI., XII. Pomponius Mela, *Cosmographia.* Salamanca, by the unknown printer, 1498. Recto of the forty-first leaf, and map on the recto of the nineteenth leaf.

XIII. (*a*) *Canonis missae expositio.* Salamanca, the unknown printer, 1499. Title-page.

(*b*) Initial T from recto of the second leaf of the same.

(*c*) Franc. Lopez de Villalobos, *sumario de la medicina.* Salamanca, the unknown printer, 1498. Initial C from the verso of the first leaf.

(*d*) Diego de Valera, *Cronica de España.* Salamanca, the unknown printer, 1500. Initial E from the verso of the first leaf.

XIV. *Leyes hechas por la breuedad y orden de los pleytos*, 26 June, 1499. Without place or name of printer, but printed at Salamanca by the unknown printer. Title-page.

XV. Juan de Mena, *Coplas de los siete peccados.* Salamanca, the unknown printer, 1500. Title-page.

XVI. Bernardus de Parentinis, *expositio missae.* Saragossa, without name of printer, 1478. Verso of the first leaf.

XVII. Bernard de Breidenbach, *Viaje a la tierra santa.* Saragossa, Paul Hurus, 1498. Four cuts, all probably copies from foreign originals, representing: 1. The death of the Virgin. 2. Ecce Homo. 3. Pilate washing his hands. 4. The Annunciation.

XVIII. Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad, *Cronica de Aragon.* Saragossa, Paul Hurus, 1498. Title-page.

XIX. Werner Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum.* Seville, Barthol. Segura and Alph. de Portu, 1480. Centre of recto of the thirty-fourth leaf.

XX. (*a*) Fernando Mexia, *el nobiliario.* Seville, Pedro Brun and Juan Gentil, 1492. Initial S.

(*b*) *Cinco libros de Seneca.* Seville, Ungut and Polonus, 1491. Part of the verso of the forty-third leaf. The disturbance in the first line is due to a damp stain in the original.

XXI. *Las vidas de Plutarco.* Seville, Ioh. Pegnitzer, Paulus de Colonia, Magnus Herbst and Thomas Glockner, 1491. Upper half of the recto of the hundredth leaf in vol. i.

XXII. Cavalca, *Espejo de la Cruz.* Seville, Ungut and Polonus, 1492. Verso of the first leaf.

XXIII. Aegidius Columna, *Regimiento de los principes.* Seville, Ungut and Polonus, 1494. Title-page.

XXIV. Gaspar Gorricio de Novaria, *Contemplaciones sobre el Rosario de Nuestra Señora.* Seville, Ungut and Polonus, 1495. Verso of the eighty-fifth leaf.

XXV. Bernardus de Gordonio, *Lilio de medicina.* Seville, Ungut and Polonus, 1495. Title-page.

XXVI. *Historia del emperador Vespasiano.* Seville, Pedro Brun, 1499. Full-page cut.

XXVII. Pedro Ximenes de Prexamo, *Confutatorium errorum.* Toledo, Juan Vazquez, 1486. Upper part of recto of the third leaf. From the copy in the Bodleian Library.

XXVIII. *Officium beatae Mariae virginis.* Valencia, without printer's name, 1486. One page.

XXIX. Jac. Perez de Valentia, *Expositio super canticum canticorum.* Valencia, Lambert Palmart, 1486. One page.

XXX. Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch.* Valencia, Nic. Spindeler, 1490. Recto of the tenth leaf, reduced.

XXXI. Iñigo de Mendoza, *Vita Christi fecha por coplas.* Without place, name of printer, or date, but printed at Zamora by Antonio de Centenera, c. 1482. One page.

XXXII. Enrique de Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hercules.* Zamora, Ant. de Centenera, 1483. One page.

XXXIII. (*a*) Alfonso Diaz de Montalvo, *Secunda compilatio legum.* Printed, probably about 1485, by an unknown printer. Part of sig. b ij verso.

(*b*) Alfonso Diaz de Montalvo, *Copilacion de leyes.* "Acabose de escrevir en la çibdad de Huepte a veinte y tres dias del mes de Agosto...año...de mill y quatro cientos y ochenta y cinco años," *i.e.* two months after the Zamora edition was printed. Lower part of sig. q 2 recto.

En qual manera los Cõsols son cascũ any Elets e lo Jutge deles appellations.

.c.i.

Uascũ any la vespre dla festa d nadal de nr̃e senyor los prom̃s patrõs e mariners o partida daqlls apple guẽ consell en la esglesia de sancta Thecla dela dita ciutat. E aqui per electio e no per redolins tots ẽ vna cõcordãts o la maior partida elegeixen dos bons homens dela art de mar en consols. E vn hom̃ dela art dela dita mar e no de nenguna altra art offici o sciẽtia en iutge deles appellations: ques fan d les sententies dels dits Consols E les dites electiõs son fetes per priuilegi. que los dits promens d la art dla mar han del sẽyor Rey e de sos antecessors.

Del sagrament que fan. los dits Consols.

.c.ii.

Lo dia de Nadal los dits cõsols elets iurẽ ẽ podr dl iusticia ciuil dla dita ciutat dins lesglesia de nostra dona scã Maria dela seu apres q̃l dit iusticia ha iurat ẽ poder del senyor Rey o d son batle: q̃ be e lealmẽt se haurã en lo offici del dit consolat. q̃ darã dret axi al maior cõ al menor saluãt tota hora la feeltat e lealtat del senyor Rey

En qual manera lo iutge deles appellations del consolat es presentat al portant veus de procurador e iura en son poder.

.c.iii.

Passada la dita festa d Nadal los dits cõsols ab alguns promens de mar presente lo dit iutge elet al portant veus de procurador en lo regne de valẽtia o a son lochtinent e iura en podr de aquell que be e lealment se haura en lo dit offici e aquell qui per los dits Consols es al dit procurador presẽtat en iutge reeb lo dit procurador en iutge d dites appellatiõs e axi es acostumat de fer no contrestãt q̃ ẽ lo priuilegi als dits prom̃s d mar per lo sẽyor Rey sobre la electio del dit iutge cascun any per lo dit senyor Rey o per procura

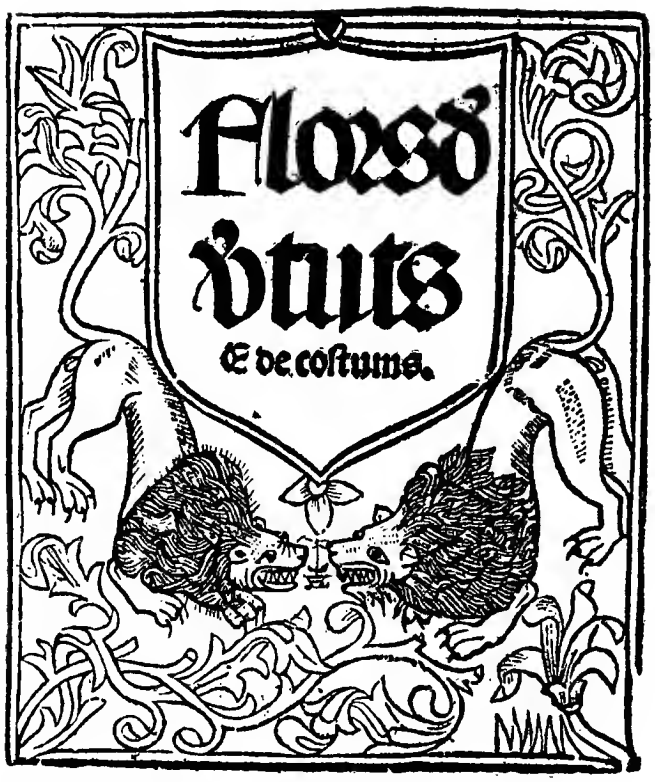
I. BARCELONA, c. 1484.

trobas esperança. y com a home señs cõsell par
ti para leriano: ab preposit de dar li alguna con/
solacio: entretant que cercaua lo millor medi q̃
per al seu mal conuenia. y aplegat hõ estaua: co
menci tals paraules esplicar li.

Lo auctor a leriano.

c ij

II. BARCELONA, 1493.



III. (*a*) BARCELONA, 1495.

III. (*b*) BARCELONA, c. 1495.

·xvij·

No vees neçio las cabañas
y los çeffos y los valles
los collados y los calles
arderse con las montañas
no vees quan desbaratado
esta todo lo sembrado
las ouejas esparzidas
las mestas todas perdidas
que no saben dar ffecabdo

¶ Despues que la ffepublica ha ffespondido los males que por defecto del gouernador le vienen. Dyze agora No vees neçio Como quien dize Tan yndiscreto eres q̃ no vees que quãdo careçemos d̃ buena y deuida gouernaçion todo arde y se consume. Conuiene saber. Las cabañas y los çeffos que entiende por lo poblado y d̃spoblado. No ves quan desbaratado esta todo lo sembrado Esto dize por el bien que ombre sy embra en ffeyno diuiso y desordenado. Ny naçe ny da fructo por q̃ el tiempo

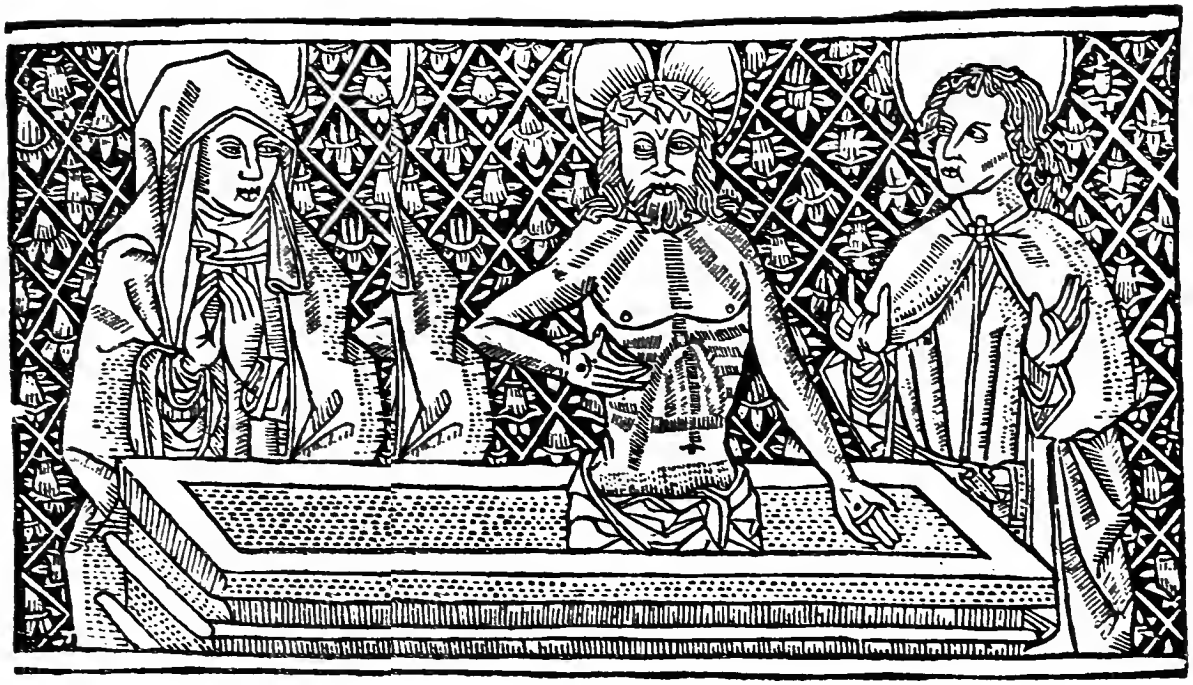
·Ciij·

IV. (*a*) BURGOS, c. 1486.

Prologo

Los famosos caualleros muy noble señor cõde que en los tiempos antiguos por diuersas regiones del mundo floreçieron. Entre los grãdes cuydados y ocupaçiones arduas que tenian para gouernar la Republica y la defender y amparar delos sus aduersarios. acostumbraban interponer algũd trabaio de sciençia por q̃ mas onesta mẽte supiesen regir a si y aq̃llos cuyo regimiẽto les perteneçia: ansi en fechos d̃ paz como de guerra. entẽdiẽdo q̃ las fuerças del cuerpo non pueden exerçer acto loado de fortaleza si nõ son guiados por coraçon sabidor. Ca el esfuerço discreto y la esforçada discreçion son de loar enlos caualleros y nõ el p̃sumptuoso atreuimiẽto min la atreuida presunçiõ zoroastes vno delos primeros principes de oriente aquel q̃ escriuen q̃ Reyendo nasçio muy enseñado dizen que fue. E el grãde alexandre maçedon sola disçiplina de aristoti-

IV. (*b*) BURGOS, 1487.



V. (*a*) BURGOS, c. 1495.

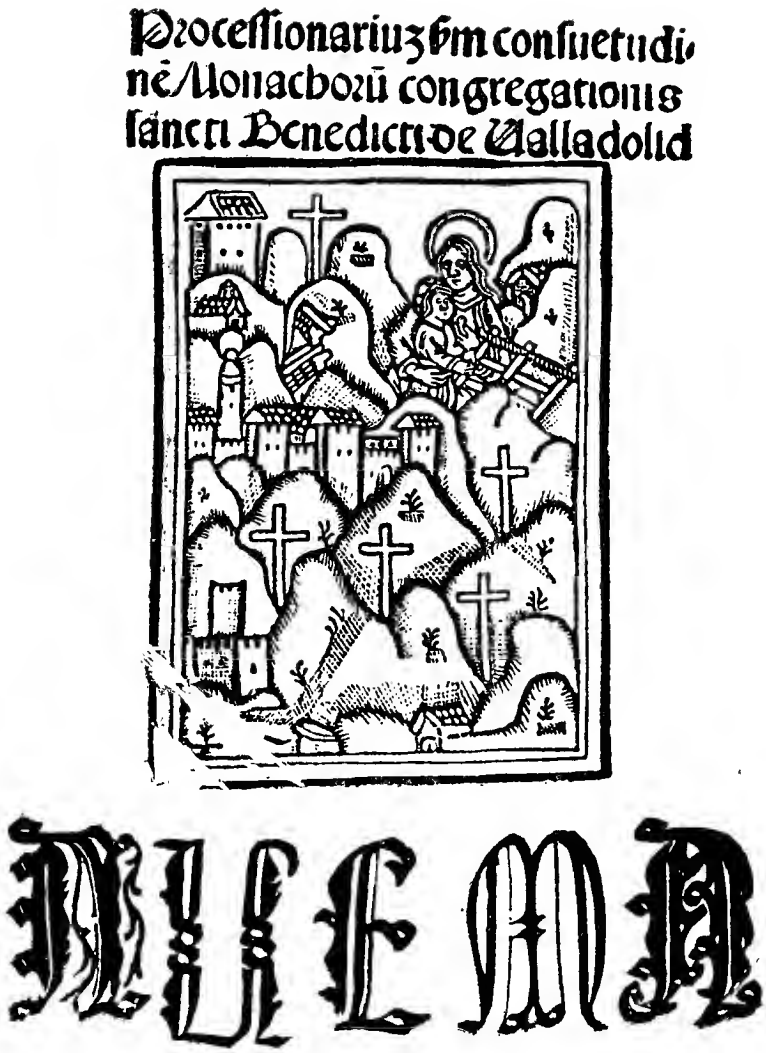
V. (*b*) BURGOS, 1499.

qui mecū sunt. ps. Cum inuo
carem. An. Isti etenim maxi
mo digni sunt honore venerari
in terris quos in cel' rex regū
imēsa cumulauit gl'a. ps. Ver
ba mea. An. Cum ergo sint a
pud deum meritis excelsi apud
homines loco tenentur humili
ps. Dñe dñs noster. v. Posu
isti dñe. ¶ Lc. iiii.

Idem gamaliel tene
bat in manu virgam
auream de qua tangens eum
se esse dixit gamaliel qui nu
triuit apostolum paulum.
R. Lucianus presbiter dixit do
mine tu quis es. et qui sunt te
cum at ille dixit ego sum gama
liel pauli quōdam doctor aposto
li qui autē iuxta me quiescit.
p. Ipse est dominus stephanus
v. Qui a iudeis iherosolimis
lapidatus et ad lacerandū besti
is et auibus est posit9 sed per dī
prouidentiam mansit intactus
p. Ipse. ¶ Lc. v.

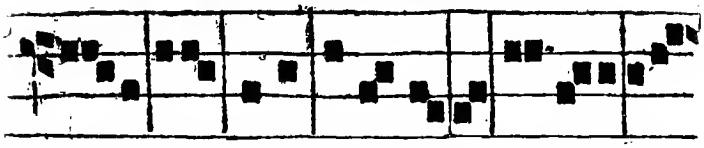
Et inter alia dixit ipi
sūma cum diligentia
nos patefacito tu
mulos quia indecenter des
pecto loco reconditi sumus
R. Cum scirem ego gamaliel
sanctitatem xpi athlete stepha
ni et fidem eius ac deuotionem
credens me in resurrectionē p
tem habiturum cū eo feci eum
sepeliri. p. In monumēto meo
nouo v. Adiutor dñi nicodem9
ibidem sepultus est et abibas fi
lius meus mecum est posit9 ubi
requiescit beatus stephanus. p
In monumento. ¶ Lc. vi.

Et cum interogasset
qui essent cum eo vn9
inquit dōpn9 stepha
nus a iudeis pro fide xpi ie
rosolimis lapidatus oppsus
tormentis. R. Sacerdos dei
lucianus pstrauit se in orone
laudās deū et dicēs dñe ihū xpe
si est hec visio ex te. p. Presta
vt iterum ac tercio manifeste
tur michi v. Vt confisus fidu
cialiter ānunciem reuelationem
sanctorum tuorum. p. Presta.
In. iii°. n°. An. In ieiuniis et
oronibus constituto apparuit
sanctus gamaliel luciano pres
bitero et dixit quare disimulas
ti fratr̄ et nō retulisti q̄ dc̄a sūt
tibi iohanni epo. ps. Dñe q̄s
habita. An. Nōne vides q̄ta
sit siccitas et tribulatio in toto
mundo et sic negligenter agis
ps. Dñe in virtute. An. Sur
ge ergo et vade dic iohanni epo

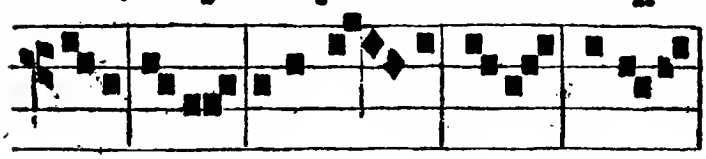


VII. MONTSERRAT, 1500.

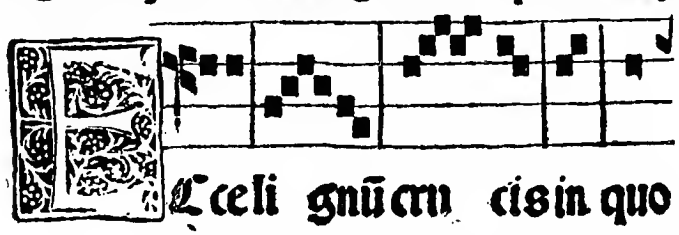
Feria.vj.in parasceue.



namq; sitiz meā potasti: ⁊ lance a ꝑfo/



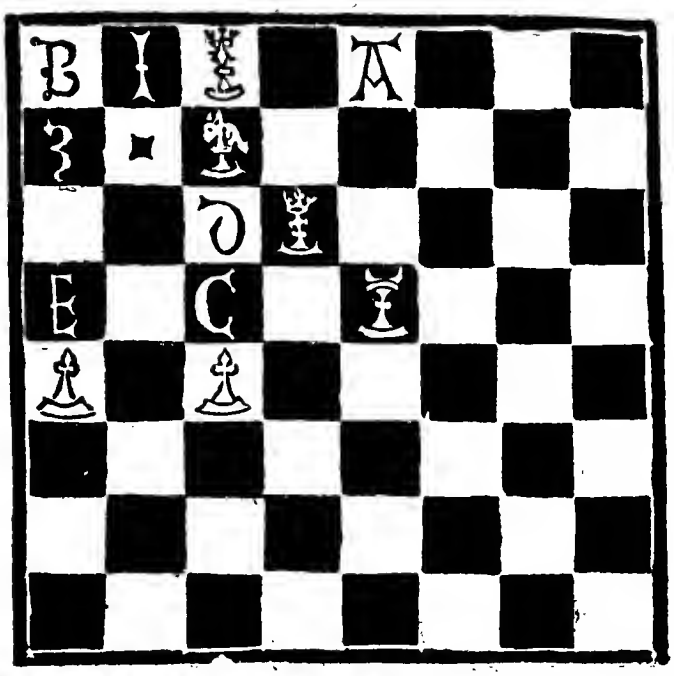
rasti la t⁹ saluato ritu o. Agios.
Nunc ābo cātores ꝓcedūt vsq; ad vltimū gradū
vbi crux dz adorari: icipiēdo alta voce seq̄ntē añ
Ecce lignū crucz. v. Beati imaclati. nō tñ dr Gli.
⁊ itat. añ. ⁊ crucē oīo discooꝑiūt. Et tūc oēs pe/
tūt vēiā ꝓstrati. Et postea ꝯuēt⁹ adoret ꝑ ordinē
Et cū crux adorat: he añ. cātāt. añ. Crucē tuaz a
dorā⁹. añ. O crux splē. añ. O crux viride li. cātori/
b⁹ sēꝑ crucē tenētib⁹. Illi vo qui dixerūt agios i al
b: nō exuāt qnoadusq; crux ab oīb⁹ adoret: q̄ cru
cē teneāt dū cātores eā adorāt. Cruce adorata
⁊ a cātorib⁹ i altū leuata: petita vēia: īponūt. añ
Suꝑ oīa. ⁊ ponūt crucē suꝑ altare et petūt vēiaz



Ecce li gnū cru cis in quo

VIII. MONTSERRAT, 1500.

IX. PAMPELONA, c. 1496.



Repticion: de amo
res: E arte de amore
con el juegos de
partido.

X. SALAMANCA, c. 1496.

POMPONII MELLE COSMOGRAPHI DE SITV ORBIS. LIBER PRIMVS.

PROHEMIVM

RBIS SITVM DICE re aggredior impeditũ opus & facundie mini me capax. Cõstat enim fere gẽtium locorum q; nominibus & eorũ p plexo satis ordine: quẽ persequi longa est magis q benigna materia. Verum aspici tamen cognosciq; dignissimũ: & quod si non ope ingenii orantis: at ipsa sui cõtẽplatione pretium opere attendentiũ absoluat. Dicã aũt alias plura & exactius. Nũc aũt ut queq; erunt clarissima & strictim. ac primo quidẽ que sit forma totius: que maxime partes. quo singule modo sint utq; habitentur expediam. Deinde rursus oras omniũ & littora ut intra extraq; sũt. atq; ut ea subit ac circũluit pelagus: additis que in natura regionũ incolarũq; memorãda sunt. Id quo facilius sciri possit atq; accipi: paulo altius sũma repetetur.

MVNDI IN QVATVOR PARTES DIVISIO.

XII. SALAMANCA, 1498.

Te igitur. Canonis misse interpretatio peruenusta clara q3 nō min⁹ q̄3 salubris: ⁊ si ob pluriū profectū ac cōmodum: verū ad maiorem clericorum informationē potissime cōstructa est. Cui pariter additiones inuenies singularissimas per pulchre annexas: quas certe: cādidissime lector: ex diuersis sacre pagine claris auctoribus fac scias excerptas. Nōnl'aq3 alia memoratu dignissima in fine hui⁹ opusculi lectitando inuenies.

(*a*) 1499.

(*b*) 1499.

(*c*) 1498.

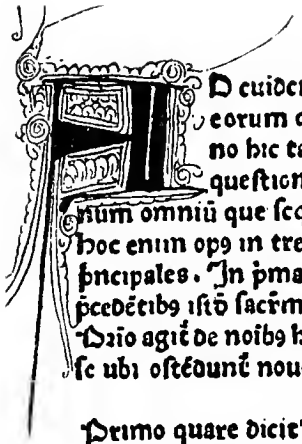
(*d*) 1500.

XIII. SALAMANCA.

¶ Leyes hechas por los muy altos ⁊ muy poderosos prin-
cipes ⁊ señores el rey dõ Fernãdo ⁊ la reyna doña Ysabel nue
stros soberanos señores por la breuedad ⁊ ordẽ dõlos pleytos
Fechas enla villa de madrid año del señor. de mil. cccc.xc.ix.

XIV. SALAMANCA, 1499.

XV. SALAMANCA, 1500.

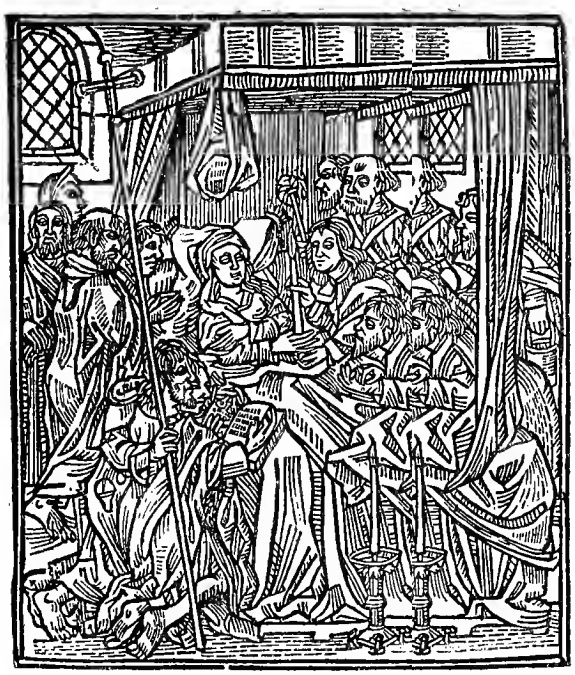


Ad cuidentiam maiorē eorum que sequūtur pono hic tabulā titulorū questionū et expositionum omniū que sequūtur hoc enim opus in tres ptes diuidiē pncipales. In pma agitē de qbusdā pcedētibus istō sacrm que sūt quiqz Dāo agitē de noibus huius officii missē ubi ostēdunt nouē per ordinē.

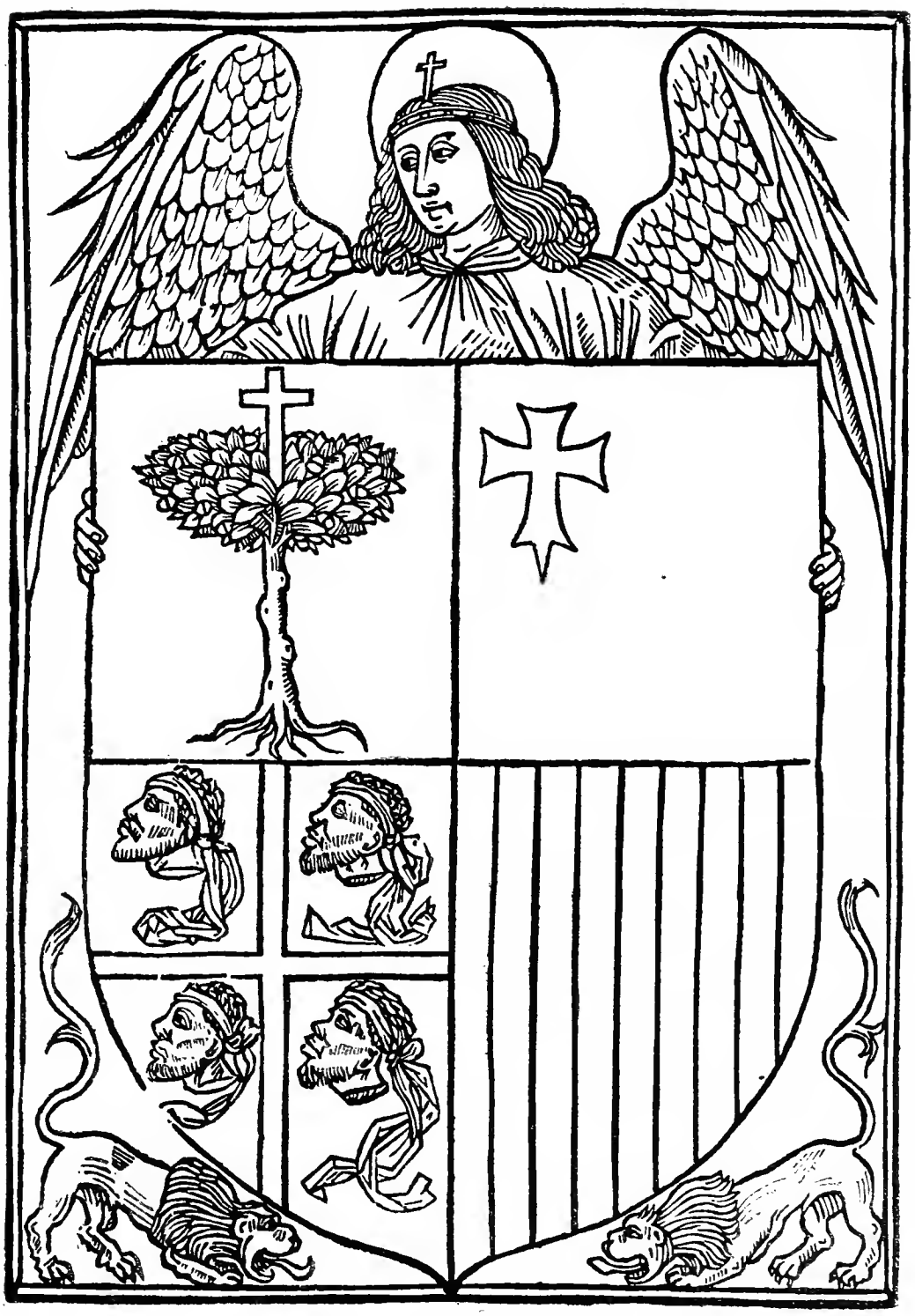
Primo quare dicit sacramentum
Secundo quare dicitur missa
Tercio quare dicitur eucaristia
Quarto quare dicitur hostia
Quinto quare dicit immolatio
Sexto quare dicitur cōmunio
Septimo quare dicitur viaticum
Octauo quare dicitur sacrificium
Nono quare dicitur actio

Secundo agitur de institutionibus istius officii.
Tercio agitē de administratoribus conditionibus que sunt quatuordecim
Prima est q̄ debet esse homo
Secūda q̄ debet esse masculus. vbi queruntur duo
Primo vtrū femina possit recipere caracterem
Secundo vtrum hermofroditus debeat ordinari
Tercia cōditio est q̄ debz esse sacerdos. Et sacerdos vnoꝰ dr̄ quasi sacra dās idest sacramenta.
Vtr̄ ministrās sacramenta in peccato peccet mortaliter.
Secūdo vtrū sacerdos teneat dare corpus xpi illi qui scit esse i peccato
Itē qz sacerdos aliquō dr̄ quasi sacra dicens sez horas et missas
Primo queritur vtrum licet sacerdoti a celebratōe abstinere
Secundo vtrum qualibet die debeat celebrare

Tercio non didis matutinis an debeat celebrare uel possit
Quarto utrum debeat celebrare pro pecunia:
Quātū ad horas queritē pmo. qui sunt illi qui tenentē ad horas
Secūdo vtrum dicēs horas p vicarium sit liberatus
Tertio vtr̄ pbēdatus in duabus ecclīis debeat diceze offm̄ vtriusqz ecclie.
Quarto vtr̄ monachus pfectus ecclesie debeat diceze offm̄ ecclie illius
Quinto vtrū liceat dicere matutinas sero precedente
Sexto queritē de infirmis: cecis: pauperibus qui nō habent libros
Septimo quid agendum si aliquid de horis omittatur
Octaꝰ vtr̄ nō attēdēs ad oras peccz
Vltimo nota q̄ hore tribus modis incipiunt
Itē sacerdos dr̄ quasi sacra docēs
Queritur vtr̄ docens aut pdicans in peccato mortali peccet
Quarta condicio est q̄ debet esse intendens et quomodo
Quīta est cōdiꝰ q̄ dz esse loquens
Sexta cōdiꝰ est q̄ debet hēre rōez et de hiis agitē sine questionibus:
Septia cōdiꝰ q̄ dz esse ieiunus
Circa que requiruntur ista
Primo vtr̄ a ieiunis sumi debeat
Secundo a quibus dz esse ieiunus
Tercio queritur quid de saliua et de reliquiis ciborum
Quarto vtrum post mediam noctem possit comedere
Quinto quid fiet in aliis ubi sūt dies minus breues aut longi
Sexto quar̄ xps p cenā celebrauit
Septio vtr̄ nō ieiunus possit cōicare
Octaꝰ vtr̄ imediate liceat comedere
Octaua cōditio est q̄ debz esse mūdus. circa qō ista queruntur
Primo vtrum accedēs in peccato

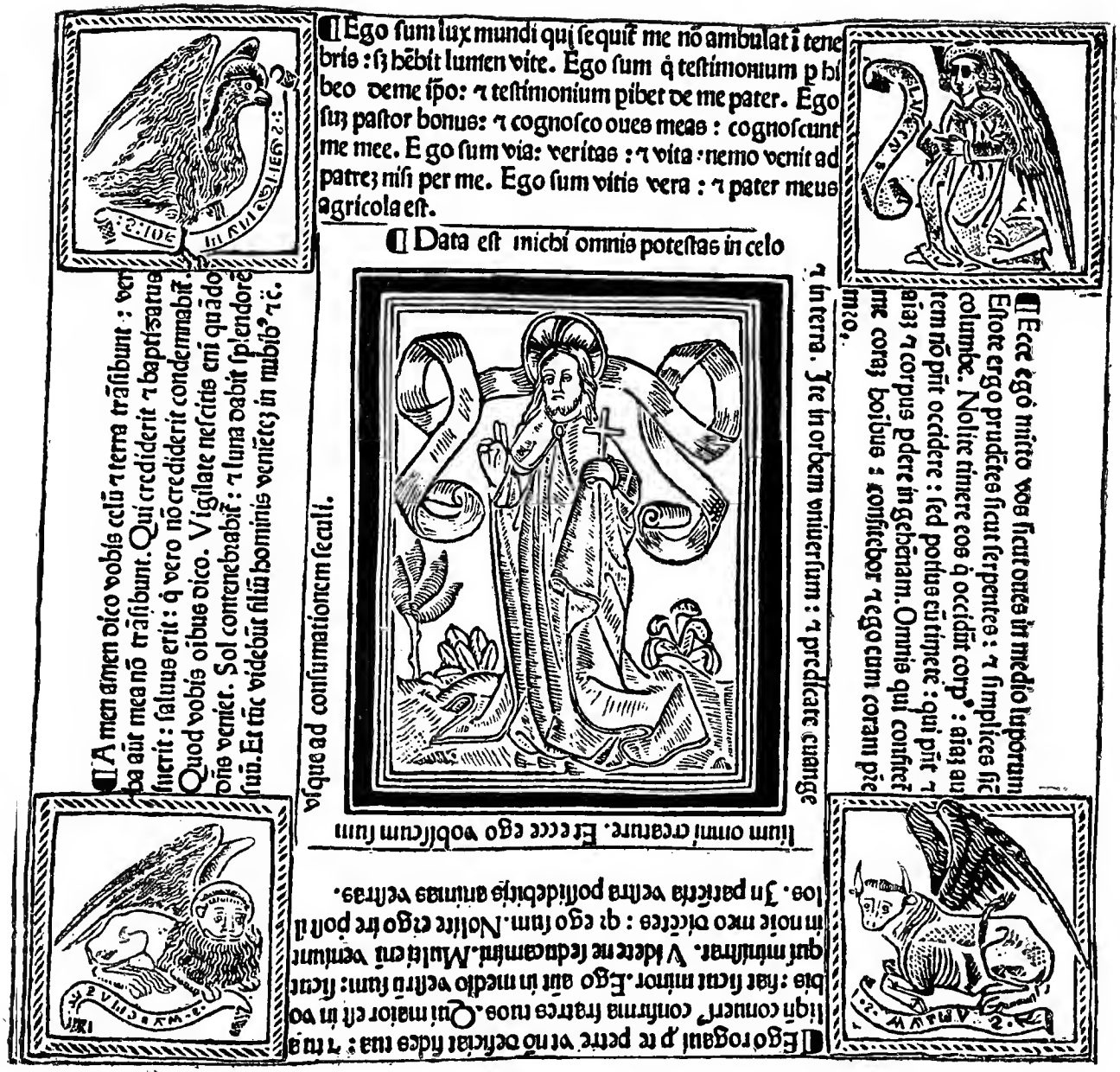


XVII. SARAGOSSA, 1498.



Coronica de aragon.

XVIII. SARAGOSSA, 1498.



¶ Ego sum lux mundi qui sequit̄ me nō ambulat ī tenebris: sz hēbit lumen vite. Ego sum q̄ testimonium ꝑ hibeo deme ip̄o: ⁊ testimonium ꝑibet de me pater. Ego suz pastor bonus: ⁊ cognosco oues meas: cognoscunt me mee. Ego sum via: veritas: ⁊ vita: nemo venit ad patrez nisi per me. Ego sum vitis vera: ⁊ pater meus agricola est.

¶ Data est michi omnis potestas in celo ⁊ in terra. Ite in orbem vniuersum: ⁊ predicate euangelium omni creature. Et ecce ego vobiscum sum vsque ad consumationem seculi.

¶ Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oues in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudētes sicut serpentes: ⁊ simplices sic̄ columbe. Nolite timere eos q̄ occidūt corp⁹: aīaz autem nō pn̄t occidere: sed potius eū timete: qui pn̄t ⁊ aīaz ⁊ corpus ꝑdere in gehēnam. Omnis qui confitet̄ me coraz hoībus: confitebor ⁊ ego eum coram p̄re meo.

¶ Ego rogaui ꝑ te petre vt nō deficiat fides tua: ⁊ tu aliqn̄ conuert⁹ confirma fratres tuos. Qui maior est in vobis: fiat sicut minor. Ego aūt in medio vestrū sum: sicut qui ministrat. Videte ne seducamini. Multi enī veniunt in noīe meo dicētes: q̄z ego sum. Nolite ergo ire post illos. In patiētia vestra possidebitis animas vestras.

¶ A men amen dico vobis celū ⁊ terra trāsibunt: verba aūt mea nō trāsibunt. Qui crediderit ⁊ baptizatus fuerit: saluus erit: q̄ vero nō crediderit condemnabit̄. Quod vobis oībus dico. Vigilate nescitis enī quādo dn̄s veniet. Sol contenebrabit̄: ⁊ luna dabit splendorē suū. Et tūc videbūt filiū hominis veniētez in nubib⁹ ⁊c̄.

XIX. SEVILLE, 1480.

XX. (*a*) SEVILLE, 1492.

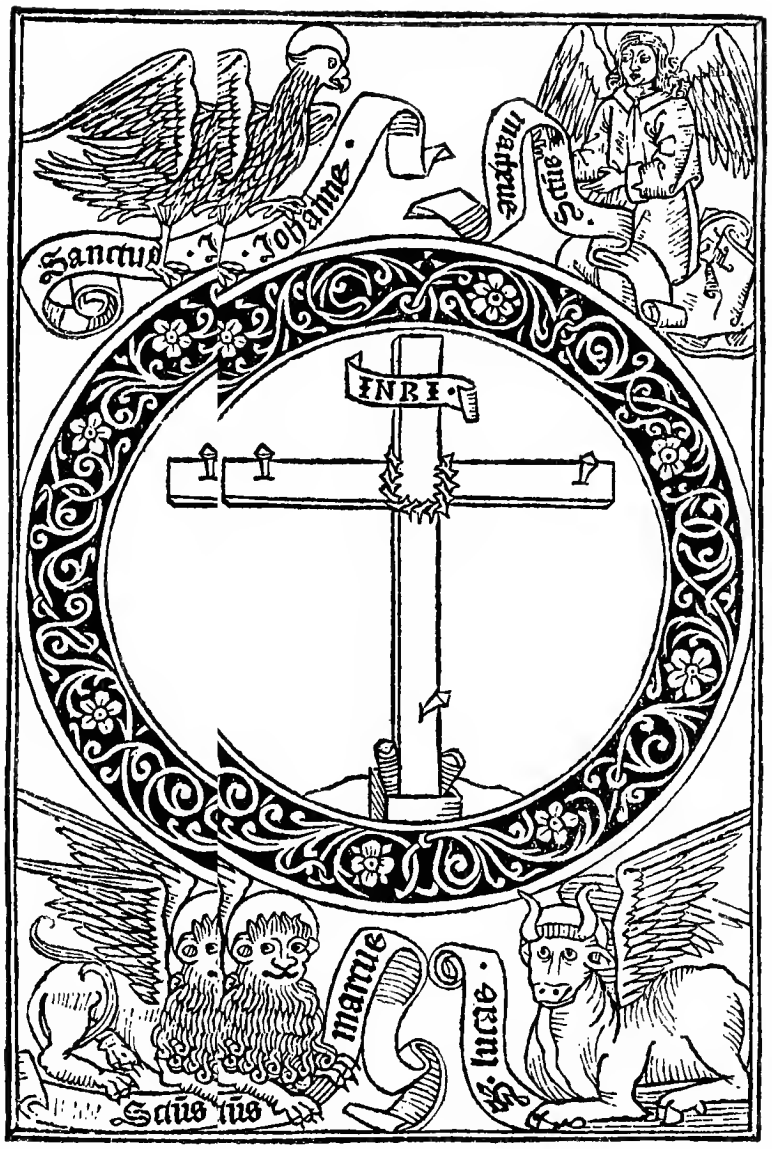
Luxuria:
Llamase luxuria aq̃ q̃lq̃er demasiado deleyte. o deleytamiẽto desonesto. q̃er sea en comer cõmo en beuer o en vestir o en olores o en baños o en otros qualesq̃ // er actos carnales E esto todo daña al yngenio. por esto dizen q̃ los antiguos es

¶ Aq̃ comiẽça el libro de seneca: de amonestamientos ⁊ (doctrinas.
Capitulo primero. Doctrina primera.

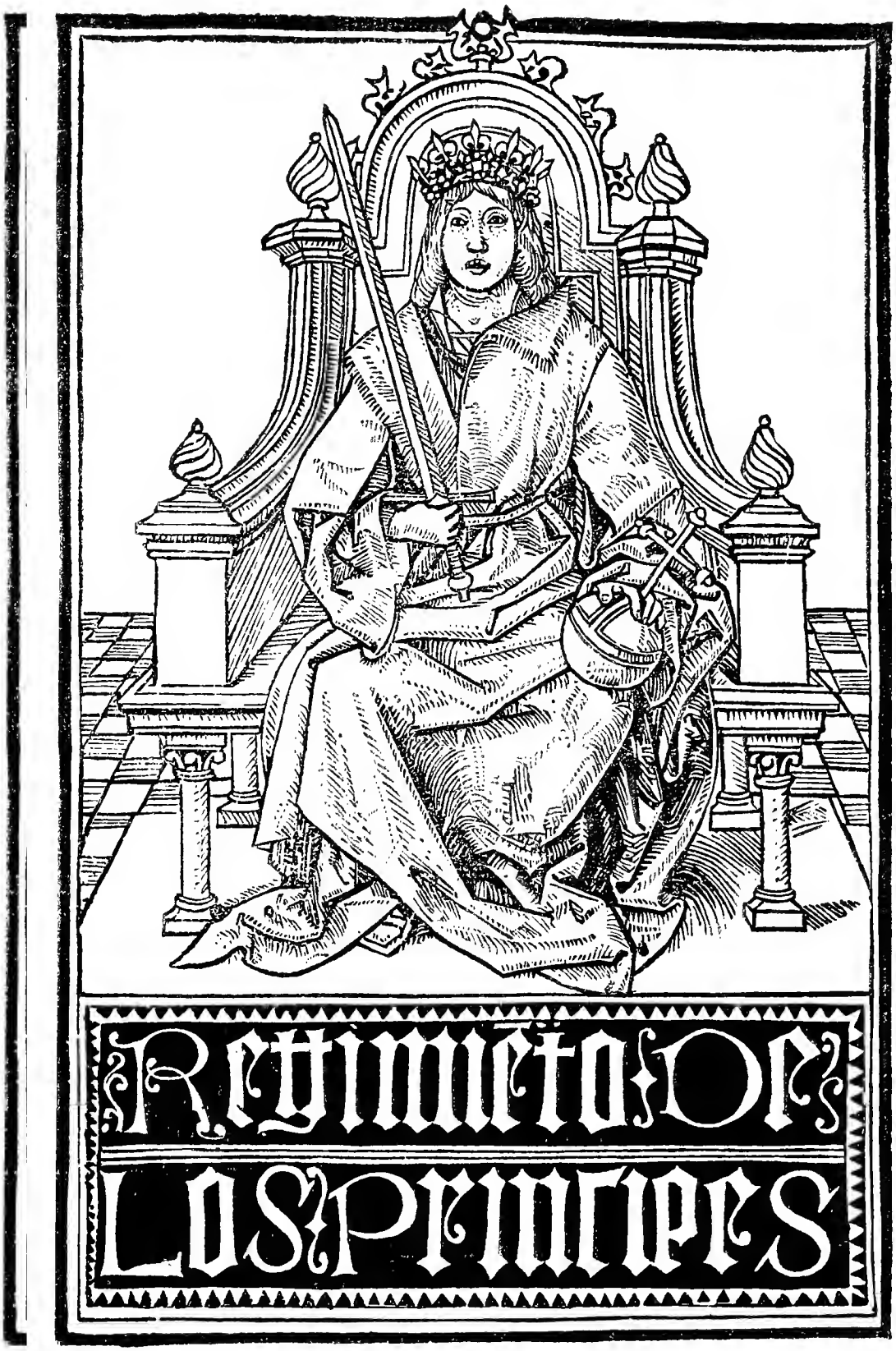
O ay cosa tã mortal alos ingenios humanos cõmo la (luxuria). Doctrina.ij. Quiẽ por maneras torpes sube alo alto mas ayna cahe q̃ subio. Doctrina.iij. Mucho aprouecha dar algũa holgãça al coraçõ ca despiertase la fuerça con algũd occio ⁊ descãso. E toda tristeza q̃ se toma cõla ꝯtinuaçiõ d̃ rezio estudio: mẽgua cõla alegria (de algũa holgãça.
Doctrina.iiij.
Todo el mũdo peresçeria si la misericordia no tẽplase ala

XX. (*b*) SEVILLE, 1491.

mansedumbre ⁊ facilidad. ¶ Mas quãdo ya fue llegada la flota d̃los barbaros a Aphetas: y el fue espãtado por la muchedumbre delas naues que via en fruente: ⁊ quele denunciaron como otras dozientas nauegauan sobre Sciacho ⁊ sobre Circo: ⁊ ouiesse determinado de aduzir la flota enel peloponeso reduzidas las compañas dentro delos fines o terminos de greçia ⁊ çercar de toda parte con nauios el exercito terrestre pensando que las fuerças maritimas del rey fuessen inexpugnabiles: los de Euboea atemorizados ⁊ cõmouidos de tan grãd miedo que si los griegos los desamparassen quedarian como vẽdidos al enemigo: fablaron a pte cõ Themistocle y embiarõ le con pelagonte grand quantidad de dinero. ¶ A segund lo escriue herodoto dio lo a Euribiade. ¶ Y entre los çibdadanos era le contrario Architele vno delos tres principes dela nao sacra: ⁊ faltando dineros pa el gasto delos marineros aquexaua la buelta. ¶ Assi que Themistocles inçito mas contra si los çibdadanos que ya antes le tenian mala volundela experiẽcia aprouecharon mucho alos griegos. ¶ Los quales enseñados por obra en aquellos peligros aprendieron que alos varones fuertes ⁊ sabios en pelear sabia ⁊ osada mente no auian de poner espanto las muchas naues nin la demasia del apparato: nin el resplãdor delas señas nin las gritas barbaricas ⁊ muestras de presumptuoso poderio. ¶ A que menospreciadas todas aquestas cosas auian de arremeter contra los cuerpos: ⁊ contender tanto fasta venir alas manos. ¶ El qual acuerdo pareçe aver seguido Pindaro enla batalla de Arthemisio: diziendo quelos fijos delos Athenieses auian echado manifiestos fundamentos de libertad. por quela fiuza es comienço de vencer. ¶ Es Arthemisio en la ribera de Euboea sobre Thestiea buelto a borea: o cõtra el septentrion: ⁊ dela otra parte esta a fruente oppuesta la gente delos olisones: que fue otro tiempo baxo del señorio d̃ philothete. ⁊ alli hay vn templo de Arthemide no grande que se llama Arthemida Prosoea: y el logar es çercado de arboles plãtados a ma



XXII. SEVILLE, 1492.



XXIII. SEVILLE, 1494.

Segunda parte

La coronacion del señor.

Pater noster. Contẽplemos como luego despues dela flagelacion ꝺ nuestro señor: los caualleros ⁊ los carnifices ⁊ ministros ayuntaron toda la gente: ⁊ lo desnudaron otra vez con grand crueldad vestiẽdole vna vestidura ꝺ purpura. Como le fizieron sentar sobre vna cathedra: ⁊ le pusieron vn cetro de caña enlas manos. Como

XXIV. SEVILLE, 1495.

Lo contenido eneste presente volumen de Bernardo Gordonio es lo seguiente. Primera mente los siete libros que se intitulan Lilio de medicina. Lo segũdo: Las tablas delos ingenios. Lo tercero: el Regimiẽto delas aguoas. Lo quarto: el Tractado delos niños conel Regimiento del ama. Lo quinto y postrimero: Las pronosticas.

XXV. SEVILLE, 1495.

XXVI. SEVILLE, 1499.

PROHEMIUM

Confutatorium errorum contra claues ecclesie nuper editorum: incipit feliciter.

Euerẽdissimo in xpo patri ac magnificentissimo dño: dño Illefonso carrillo diuina miseratione Archiepo toletano et hyspaniarum primati ac castelle maiori cancellario: Petrus ximeni de prano ĩ theologia magister indignus et canonicus toletanus: post manuum oscula: semp̃ cum omni prõtitudine obsequendi. Siquidem dimissi me primas: destinari michi iussit Dñatio vra reuerẽdissima libellum q̃dam confessionum: seu confessionale nominatum: nuper editum. quẽ quidam scolastici viri a salamãtina vniuersitate tanq̃m de falsitate suspectum: vestre reuerẽdissime paternitati examinandum: corrigendumq̃ trãsmiserant. mãdauitq̃ michi seruulo suo eadẽ Reuerẽdissima dñatio vestra suis litteris seppe et verbotenus pluries: quatenus tur. Nõ debet autẽ reprehẽsibile iudicari: si eadẽ auctoritas in diuersis locis aducatur secundum exigẽciam materie subiecte. Diuidetur autẽ presens opus in tres partes principales. in q̃rum prima: p̃mitẽtur q̃dam generalia de sacramentis. In secunda autẽ: gra materie dicetur breuiter sub cõpẽdio: de penitẽcia uirtute et de penitẽcia sacramẽto. In tercia uero cõfutabuntur errores in p̃fato libello doctrinaliter insertis. Profiteor autem in dicẽdis nõ odio. aut inuidie liuore seu aliq̃ passione moueri. sed caritate. obediencia. ac zelo veritatis ortodoxe. et sacramentorum fidei. Et si quod deus auertat: sacre doctrine: aut sanctorum et catholicorum doctorum recto dogmati: absonum quidq̃m scripsero: nõ arrogãter: aut pertinaciter: sed ignorãter me dixisse fateor. subiciodq̃ me et dicta mea correctioni et determinationi apostolice sedis. que est magistra veritatis.

Capitulum primum. noticia in generali de quibusdam q̃ continentur in libello confessionum magistri petri oxomensis.

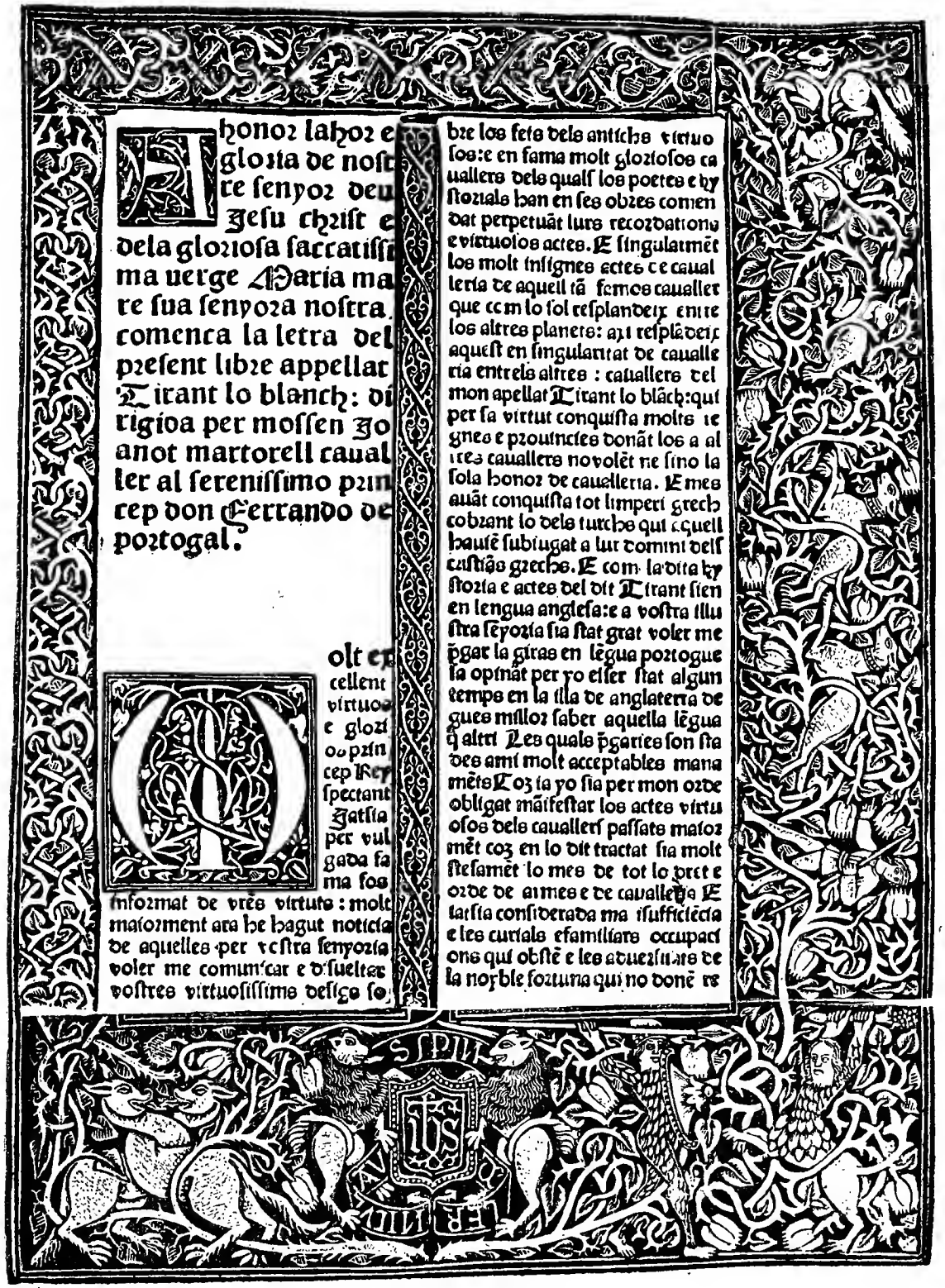
ptes dei mei hereditas illiq.
et in plenitudine sanctorũ de
tẽtio mea. Deo gratias. ℟.
Benedicta ⁊ uenerabilis
es uirgo maria. que sine
tactu pudoris effecta es mat̃
saluatoris. ℣. Virgo dei ge
nitrix quẽ tot⁹ nõ capit orbis
i tua se clausit uiscera fact⁹ hõ
Alleluya. ℣. Virga iesse flo
ruit. virgo deũ et homiez genu
it. pacẽ de⁹ reddidit i se r̃cõci
liãs yma sumis. alleluya. Se
quẽtia sci euãgelii scdm lucã.
Gloria tibi dñe.

XXVIII. VALENTIA, 1486.

·De tertio cantico·

Capite nobis vulpes paruu
las.
Que demoliũtur vineas.
Nam vinea nr̃a floruit.
Dilectus meus mihi.
Et ego illi.
Qui pascitur inter lilia.
Donec aspiret dies et incli
nentur vmbre.
Reuertere. similis esto di/
lecte mi.
Capree hymnuloq3 ceruo/
rum.
Super montes bethel.
Ox dilecti mei.
Ecce venit saliẽs
in montibus. ⁊c̃.

Istud ẽ terciũ cãticũ in quo sal'on cãtat vocatõ3 apl'o7 siue vocationez eccl'ie in apl'is. Et iõ prius vidẽdũ est vñ sal'on sũpsit ꝑabolaz. Scd̃o exeq̃ndum ẽ de cãtico et ei⁹ expõe. Quãtuz ad primũ ẽ aduertẽdum. ꝙ sal'on ex duob⁹ tabernacl'o ⁊ declarabat sibi oĩa ⁊ disponebat de omnib⁹ agẽdis vt p3 exo. vltio per hoc p̃uidit sal'on qual'r ꝟbũ diuinuz debebat introire in archaz hũanitatis ꝑ incarnationẽ ⁊ totus xp̃s incarnatus debebat intrare in tabernaculũ eccl'ie ꝑ fidem ⁊ gr̃am. ⁊ de illa archa hũanitatis debebat loqui fidelibus suis ⁊ declarare legẽ ⁊ ꝓphetas. Itẽ hoc idẽ p̃uidit sal'on per ꝓmissiões fct̃as/maxime deut'o. xviij cũ dixit deus. Prophetam suscitabo de medio frũm tuo7 similez tibi. et ponam ꝟba mea in ore eius. loqueturq3 ad eos quecũq3 dixero illi. vbi preuidit salomõ qual'r deus debebat assumere carnez de illo popl'o ⁊ loqui apl'is ⁊ toti illi popl'o per illam hũanitatẽ assumptã. et declarare legẽ ⁊ ꝓphetas. Et sic p3 qual'r sicut in p̃cedenti cantico cantauit osculũ icarnatiõis: ita in hoc tercio cantat osculuz familiaris p̃dicatõis ⁊ legis declaratõis et sic satisfacit prime petitiõi spõse. Hoc ergo p̃uidẽs sal'on in sp̃u assumens parabolam ex sup̃dictis fecit h̃ tertiũ cãticuz in quo introducit xp̃m spõsuz loquentẽ et vocãtem eccl'iam in apl'is ⁊ declarãtẽ eis legez ⁊ ꝓphetas ꝓut fuit impletum. Mathei. v. ⁊ vj. et ꝑ totũ discursuz euãgelicũ. Sz precipue cãtat ꝓphetice salo/



A honor lahor e gloria de nostre senyor deu Jesu christ e dela gloriosa saccatissima uerge Maria mare sua senyora nostra. comenca la letra del present libre appellat Tirant lo blanch: dirigida per mossen Joanot martorell caualler al serenissimo princep don Ferrando de portogal.

Molt excellent virtuos e glorios princep Rey spectant Jatsia per vulgada fama fos informat de vrēs virtuts: molt maiorment ara he hagut noticia de aquelles per vostra senyoria voler me comunicar e disueltar vostres virtuosissims desigs sobre los fets dels antichs virtuosos: e en fama molt gloriosos cauallers dels quals los poetes e hystorials han en ses obres comendat perpetuāt lurs recordations e virtuosos actes. E singularmēt los molt insignes actes de caualleria de aquell tā famos caualler que com lo sol resplandeix entre los altres planets: axi resplādeix aquest en singularitat de caualleria entrels altres: cauallers del mon apellat Tirant lo blāch: qui per sa virtut conquista molts regnes e prouincies donāt los a altres cauallers no volēt ne sino la sola honor de caualleria. E mes auāt conquista tot limperi grech cobrant lo dels turchs qui aquell hauiē subiugat a lur domini dels cristiās grechs. E com la dita hystoria e actes del dit Tirant sien en lengua anglesa: e a vostra illustra seyoria sia stat grat voler me p̄gar la giras en lēgua portoguesa opināt per yo esser stat algun temps en la illa de anglaterra de gues millor saber aquella lēgua q̄ altri Les quals p̄garies son stades ami molt acceptables manamēts Coz ia yo sia per mon orde obligat māifestar los actes virtuosos dels cauallers passats maiormēt coz en lo dit tractat sia molt stesamēt lo mes de tot lo pret e orde de armes e de caualleria E iatsia considerada ma isufficiēcia e les curials e familiars occupacions qui obstē e les aduersitats de la noyble fortuna qui no donē re

XXX. VALENTIA, 1490.

¶ Clara mente te confieso
que allego toda vez
y por tener en mí vegez
las guardo mejor por eso
ca este mundo trauieso
quien del no se faze cura
buelue su buena ventura
muchas vezes ol auieso

Prosygue

¶ Aũ allego por q̃ so
por lo que tengo preciado
allego por ser vengado
delos que mal quiero yo
allego por que do esto
soy franco quando conuiene
que sy se que bien me viene
algunas vegadas do

Replica la razon con
tra la primera causa

¶ Locura grande syn falla
sy nauegases sería
crecer enla vitualla
fallesciendo te la vía
pues sy desta razon mía
recibes clara noticia
como cresce la cobdicia
enla tu postrimeria

Replica contra la tercera causa

¶ Allegas tu por que temes
las bueltas del mundo ciego
que riendo fuyr su fuego
te lanças donde te quemes
no aprieta muchos xemes
lo que la cobdicia abarca
quã mucho corre tu barca
ciara quando bien la remes

Prosygue

¶ Muchos fechos faze buenos
la fortuna quando aplaza
alo mas mas amenaza
es flaca contra los menos
tu que de bienes agenos
por no temerla te cercas
y por fuyrla te acercas
do mas te lançan sus truenos

Comparacion

¶ Seguros del su combate
son las casas probrezillas
los palacios y las syllas
delos ricos mas abate
pone los en tal combate
que no conoscen sosyego
y quien tiene mejor juego
rescibe muy mayor mate

Replica la razon con
tra la segũda causa

Por que tienes con afan
eres preciado me rezas
son preciadas tus riquezas
que de ti no curaran
por ellas todos lo han
y la muerte te rodean
por ellas te la desean
y alas vezes te la dan

Prosygue

¶ Y por q̃ tan inhumanos
tus fechos sienten con ellas
todos dan de ti querellas
asy fijos como hermanos
y tus parientes cercanos
desean de buena guerra
aty tener sola tierra
y alo tuyo entre sus manos

Prosygue

¶ Que faran tus enemigos
que amigos con tus bienes
no los fazes ni los tienes

ya concordia paresce la significaçion
enla manera que se sygue.
¶ Hystoria nuda. ¶ Es en grecia
vna grande selua ⁊ espesura de arbo
les antigua ⁊ espantable ⁊ esquiua
⁊ no abitada ⁊ aspera de peñas ⁊ a
fondada de cueuas sombrosas ⁊ escu
ras dicha mornia. acõpañada de fie
ras ⁊ saluajes bestias. ẽtre las quales
auia vn leon muy grãde ⁊ brauo gas
tador delos pobladores ⁊ delos de alli
vezinos por miedo del qual los vian
dantes desmãparauã los caminos q̃
pasauan açerca de aquel lugar ⁊ los
labradores cõ los bueyes no osauã re
boluer la tẽra dura ni ẽcomẽdar las
simientes al labrado campo. Los pa
stores dexauan los ganados sin osar
los boluer quãdo se llegauan a aq̃l lu
gar. E los moradores enlas caserias
⁊ aldeas dexauan su labrança encer
rãdose enel fuerte muro delos mayo
res lugares recogiendose enlas forta
lezas ⁊ casas altas tanto era el temor
q̃ del dicho leon auiã ⁊ no menos da
ño auido ⁊ concebido auian. Oyendo
esto el virtuoso hercules ⁊ cauallero
valiente corrio ⁊ ayudo al hermami
ento ⁊ daño que rescebiã los de aq̃lla
tierra. no auiendo miedo maguera o
yera dezir de otros muchos caualle
ros que antes del auian dubdado ma
tar el dicho leon ⁊ avn algunos quelo
prouarõ fenescieron ay sus dias ẽtre
los dientes del leon. ⁊ la suya syn de
fesion perdieron arrebatada mẽte vi
da. Hercules con vtud sobrada ãdu
do ala selua ya dicha buscãdo el espã
table leon conbidãdolo que veniese a
el por bozes ⁊ amenazas fasta q̃ llego

¶ Indistinte tamē de iure fori admittitur. ut Foro legum. li. ii. ti. De appellatiōe l. i. Et uide quod ibi scripsi. De iure tamē partitarum cauetur id quod hic dicitur. ii. parti. e. ti. l. xiii. Regulariter est notandum Quod ubicunque interlocutoria infert grauamē quod non pōt per appellationem reparari. habet locū appellatio. ut in. l. ii. ff. De appella. resti. Idem quando post interlocutoriam non speratur difinitiua. Et sic loquitur ista. l. Et notat lacte et notabiliter Var. in dicta. l. ii. De appella. resti. quam uide.

¶ Appellationi nō defertur a sententia que est lata in termino assignato ad eam proferendā. si ante quam iudex ab audientia surgat pars nō cōpareat ad audiendum sententiā nec ad appellandum ab ea. Si tamē post diem certā ad sententiandum assignatam iudex pronunciet. usque ad triduum pars poterit ab ea appellare. Ordi. Al. de Alcala. ti. xiii. l. ii.

XXXIII. (*a*) LOC. INCERT.

de conçejo firme. nin signe otro poder nin procuraçion. saluo en la forma q̄ dicha es de suso. E el poder que de otra manera fuere otorgado. Los dichos conçejos. ⁊ oficiales. lo rreuoquen ⁊ anullē so pena de priuaçion delos oficios ¶. E nos asy lo auemos por rreuocado ¶. E esto sea asy guardado ¶ Saluo sy los pagadores fueren. perpetua mēte diputados. E sobre las dichas pagas ⁊ rreparos delos dichos castillos frōteros. A suplicaçiō delos procuradores delas. nr̄as çibdades ⁊ villas. enlas cortes q̄ fezimos en toledo año de mill ⁊ quatroçientos ⁊ ochenta. rrespondimos que nos entendemos aver informaçion. ⁊ proueer çerca dello por nr̄a ley ⁊ ordenāça por nr̄as car

¶ Ley vnj°. que ningūo sea osado de edificar castillos nin fortalezas en peñas brauas

Por q̄ algunos con gran osadia ⁊ atreuimiento syn liçençia ⁊ mādamiento delos rreyes nr̄os pgenitores ⁊ nr̄o se han atreuido ⁊ atreuieren de aq̄ adelante. a fazer ⁊ hedificar castillos. ⁊ fortalezas. Ordenamos ⁊ mandamos que los castillos viejos. ⁊ las peñas brauas ⁊ las otras fortalezas ⁊ cueuas ⁊ oteros q̄ enel nr̄o suelo ⁊ enel suelo del abadengo ⁊ enl suelo ageno fueron/o fueren de aqui adelante edificadas. Tenemos por biē q̄ luego sean demolidas ⁊ derribadas. E quādo nos ouieremos. De dar liçençia que

¶ El rrey dō alonso en valladolid. era de mill cccº ⁊ lxxxº vj.

¶ El rrey dō enrrique en toro era. De mill cccc° ix

q. ij

XXXIII. (*b*) LOC. INCERT.

INDEX OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS.

AENEAS SYLVIUS, Eurialus y Lucrecia. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 103.

AESOPUS, Fabellae. *Roca*, 1495, p. 108.

—— Fabulas. *Hurus*, 1489, p. 112; *Biel*, 1496, p. 110.

AGUILAR, Sermo. *Biel*, s.a. p. 111.

ALBERT, Mich. De pravitate haereticorum. *Valencia*, 1494, p. 146.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, Quesits. *Posa*, 1499, p. 100.

ALVERNIA, Super libros meteororum. *Salamanca*, 1497, p. 104.

AMBROSIUS, De officiis. *Michael*, 1493, p. 132.

AMORES de Arnalte y Lucenda. *Biel*, 1491, p. 109.

AMPIES. *See* Martinez de Ampies.

ANTIPHONARIUM ord. S. Hieronymi. *Cuatro compañeros*, s.a. p. 120.

ANTONINUS de Florentia, Summula confessionis. *Fernandez de Cordoba*, 1477, p. 90.

—— Summa Defecerunt. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124; *Biel*, 1492, p. 109; *Hurus*, 1492, p. 113; *Salamanca*, 1495, p. 103; *Hurus*, 1497, p. 115; *Biel*, 1499, p. 110.

ARISTOTELES, Ethica. *Hurus*, 1492, p. 113; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 125.

ARNALDUS, Steph. Super Nicolaum. *Posa*, 1490, p. 99.

BADIUS ASCENSIUS, Stultiferae naves. *Biel*, s.a. p. 111.

BALADRO del sabio Merlin. *Burgos*, 1498, p. 131.

BASILIUS, Institutiones de moribus. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 104.

BENEDICT, S. Regula. *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.

BERNARD, S. Meditationes. *Posa*, 1499, p. 100.

BERNARDUS, De regimine domus. *Spindeler*, s.a. p. 98.

BIBLIA Valenciana. *Palmart and Fernandez de Cordoba*, 1478, p. 90.

BIBLIA Latina. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1491, p. 120.

BLONY, Nic. de. De administratione sacramentorum. *Brocar*, 1499, p. 118.

BOCADOS de oro. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126; *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 105.

BOCCACCIO, Mujeres ilustres. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 114.

—— Caida de principes. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126.

—— Ciento novelas. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1496, p. 126.

—— Fiameta. *Salamanca*, 1497, p. 103.

BOETHIUS, Consolacion. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 127; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1499, p. 128.

BONAVENTURA, Diaeta salutis. *Brocar*, 1497, p. 117.

BONAVENTURA, Forma de novicios. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 127.
—— Instructio novitiorum. *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.
—— Meditationes. *Michael*, 1493, p. 132; *Michael*, 1499, p. 132; *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.
—— Parvum bonum. *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.
BONETUS, Metaphysica. *Michael*, 1493, p. 132.
BONIFACIUS, Peregrina. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1498, p. 128.
BOTELER, Escala de paradis. *Rosenbach*, 1495, p. 133.
BREITENBACH, Viaje de tierra santa. *Hurus*, 1498, p. 115, pl. xvii.
BREVIARIUM Benedictinum. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 141.
—— Braccarense. *Gherling*, 1494, p. 89.
—— Caesaraugustanum. *Saragossa*, 1497, p. 115.
—— Compostellanum. *Nic. de Saxonia*, 1497, p. 98.
—— Elnense. *Rosenbach*, 1500, p. 134.
—— Ilerdense. *Botel*, 1479, p. 101, pl. vi.
—— Segovianum. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 125.
—— Tirasonense. *Saragossa*, 1497, p. 115.
—— Toletanum. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 125.
BULLAE indulgentiarum. *Luschner*, 1498, p. 140; *Michael*, 1498, p. 132; *Luschner*, s.a. p. 142.

CAESAR, Bellum Gallicum. *Burgos*, 1491, p. 130.
—— Comentarios. *Hagenbach*, 1498, p. 136.
CAMARA, De sacramentis. *Tres compañeros*, 1496, p. 121.
CAPITULOS de corregidores, s.n. p. 95; s.n. (for Garcia de la Torre) p. 95.
CARTAGENA, Alonso de. Doctrinal de caballeros. *Biel*, 1487, p. 109, pl. iv.[b]; *Burgos*, 1497, p. 131.
CASTRONOVO, Vinc. de. *See* Vincentius.
CASTROVOL, Super libros physicorum Aristotelis. *Brocar*, 1496, p. 117.
—— Super libros politicorum. *Brocar*, 1496, p. 117.
—— Super libros ethicorum. *Botel*, 1489, p. 101.
—— In libros de generatione, etc. *Botel*, 1488, p. 101.
—— Super totam philosophiam naturalem. *Botel*, 1489, p. 101.
—— Super psalmum Athanasii. *Brocar*, 1492, p. 117.
—— In symbolum Quicunque vult. *Brocar*, s.a. p. 118, pl. ix.
—— In symbolum apostolicum. *Brocar*, 1489, p. 117.
—— Formalitates. *Brocar*, s.a. p. 118.
CATALDUS, Epistulae, Opera. *Fernandez*, 1500, p. 129.
CAULIACO, Guido de. Inventario. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 125; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1498, p. 127.
CAVALCA, Espejo de la cruz. *Martinez*, 1486, p. 94; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124, pl. xxii.; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124.
CELESTINA. *Biel*, 1499, p. 110; *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 105.
CEREZO, Andr. de. Grammatica. *Biel*, 1485, p. 108; *Burgos*, 1497, p. 131.
CIJAR, Opusculum. *Posa*, 1491, p. 99.
CISNEROS, Exercitatorio. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 142.
COLON, Carta. *Rosenbach*, 1493, p. 133.
COLUMNA, Aeg. de. Cronica Troyana. *Burgos*, 1490, p. 130; *Brocar*, s.a. p. 118.
—— Regiment dels princeps. *Spindeler*, 1480, p. 96; *Luschner*, 1498, p. 140; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125, pl. xxiii.

COMPENDIO de la salud. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 114; *Burgos*, 1495, p. 130; *Brocar*, 1495, p. 117.
CONSOLAT del mar. *Barcelona*, ca. 1484, p. 145, pl. i.; *Posa*, 1494, p. 100.
CONSTITUCIONS de D. Fernando. *See* Fernando.
CONSTITUTIONES Caesaraugustanae. *Coci*, etc., 1500, p. 116.
CORDIAL. *See* Garcia de Santa Maria.
CORELLA. *See* Ruiz de Corella.
COSTANA, Super decalogo. *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 104.
—— Te igitur. *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 103.
CRONICA del Cid. *Tres campañeros*, 1498, p. 121.
CUADERNO. *See* Quaderno.
CURTIUS, Historia de Alexandro. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1496, p. 126.
—— Vida de Alexandre. *Posa and Brun*, 1481, p. 96.

DAGUI. *See* Gui.
DATTUS, Elegantiolae. *Palmart*, s.a. p. 90; *Spindeler*, s.a. p. 97; *Botel*, 1485, p. 101.
DELI. *See* Li.
DEZA, In Defensiones S. Thomae. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1491, p. 123.
—— Statuta, *Officium inquisitionis*, 1500, p. 145.
DIAZ, Albeyteria. *Hurus*, 1495, p. 114; *Hurus*, 1499, p. 115; *Burgos*, 1500, p. 131.
DIAZ DE MONTALVO, Leyes s. Ordenanzas. *Centenera*, 1485, p. 106; *Castro*, 1485, p. 145, pl. xxxiii.[b]; *Biel*, 1488, p. 109; *Hurus*, 1490, p. 112; *Tres compañeros*, 1495, p. 121; *Ungut ana Stanislaus*, 1498, p. 127; *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 104.
—— Repertorio. *Seville*, 1496, p. 146.
—— Repertorium. *Martinez*, etc., 1477, p. 93; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1496, p. 126.
—— Secunda compilatio legum, s.l.e.a. p. 146, pl. xxxiii.[a].
DIAZ DE TOLEDO, Forma libellandi. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 127.
—— Notas del relator. *Biel*, 1490, p. 109; *Francour*, 1493, p. 135; *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 103; *Pegnitzer and Herbst*, 1500, p. 122.
DIEZ, Fern. Orationes. *Palmart*, 1488, p. 92.
—— Sacratissima Concepcion. *Palmart*, 1486, p. 91; *Palmart*, 1487, p. 92.
DIRECTORIO de las horas canonicas. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 142.
DIRECTORIUM horarum canonicarum. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 142.
DOCTRINA breve y muy provechosa. *Ungut and Pegnitzer*, s.a. p. 123.
DONATUS, Comm. in Terentium. *Rosenbach*, 1498, p. 133.
DURAN, Comento sobre Lux bella. *Salamanca*, 1498, p. 103.

ENCINA, Cancionero. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 103.
ENSEÑAMIENTO del corazon. *Salamanca*, 1498, p. 103.
EPILOGO en medicina. *See* Compendio de la salud.
EPISTOLAS y evangelios en castellano. *Hurus*, 1485, p. 112.
EPITHALAMIUM Alfonsi et Elisabethae. *Salamanca*, 1491.
ESCOBAR, Arte de confesion. *Biel*, s.a. p. 111.
ESTORIA. *See* Historia.
EVANGELIOS en castellano. *Centenera*, 1490. *See* Lopez.
EXIMENES. *See* Ximenes.
EXPOSITIO aurea hymnorum. *Biel*, 1493, p. 110; *Saragossa*, 1499, p. 115; *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122.

FENOLLAR, Obres e trobes. *Palmart*, s.a. p. 89.
—— Istoria de la passio. *Hagenbach and Hutz*, 1493, p. 136.

FENOLLAR, Proces de les olives. *Roca*, p. 108.
FERNANDO, Don. Constitucions. *Rosenbach*, 1494 (2 edd.), p. 133.
—— Sentencia en la I. cort de Barcelona. s.n. 1481, p. 94.
FLOR de virtudes. *Tres compañeros*, 1498, p. 121.
FLORETO de S. Francisco. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124.
FLORETUS. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
FLORS de virtuts. *Gumiel*, 1495, p. 139, pl. iii.[a]; *Valdes*, 1497, p. 93.
FORI ARAGONUM. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 114; *Hurus*, 1496, p. 114.
FUENTEDUEÑA, Al. de. Titulo virginal de N. S. *Brocar*, 1499, p. 118.
FUERO REAL. *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 105.
FURS nous de 1488. *Hagenbach and Hutz*, 1493, p. 135.
FURS de Valencia. *Palmart*, 1482, p. 91.
FUSTER, Sobre lo Psalm Miserere. *Palmart*, 1490, p. 92.

GARCIA, Carro de dos vidas. *Pegnitzer and Herbst*, 1500, p. 122.
GARCIA DE STA. MARIA, Gonz. De quatuor novissimis s. Cordial. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 114; *Valencia*, 1495, p. 146.
—— Diez cuerdas de la vanidad. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 113.
GARCIA DE VILLALPANDO, Instruccion de la vida crist. *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
GAZULL, Somni de Joan de Joan. *Roca*, 1497, p. 108.
GERARDUS de Zutphania, De spirituali ascensione. *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.
GERSON, Contemptus mundi. *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
—— De regulis mandatorum. *Calafat*, 1485, p. 107.
—— Epistola. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 141.
GERSON, Imitació de Jesuchrist. *Posa*, 1482, p. 98.
—— Libro de remedar á Cristo. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 125; *Biel*, 1495, p. 110.
GOMEZ DE CIUDAD REAL, F. Centon epistolario. *Rei*, 1499, p. 145.
GORDONIO, Lilio de medicina. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126, pl. xxv.
GORRICIO, Contemplacion del rosario. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126, pl. xxiv.; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 127.
GRATIA DEI, Blason General. *Lila*, 1489, p. 117.
GREGORIUS DE ARRIMINO, In I. II. sententiarum. *Cyfman*, 1500, p. 143.
GUI, P. da. Janua artis s. Formalitates. *Posa*, 1482, p. 99; *Posa*, 1488, p. 99; *Cuatro compañeros*, 1491, p. 120.
—— Metaphysica s. Opus divinum. *Posa*, 1489, p. 99; *Stanislaus*, 1491, p. 123; *Stanislaus*, 1500, p. 128.
GUILLERMUS DE PARIS, Postilla. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 127.
GUTIERREZ, Cura de la piedra. *Hagenbach*, 1498, p. 136.
—— De computatione dierum. *Tellez*, 1495, p. 117.
—— De potu. *Tellez*, 1494, p. 117.

HIERONYMUS, Sanctus. *See* Jerome, S.
HILARIUS. *See* Expositio aurea hymnorum.
HISTORIA de Henrique. *Tres compañeros*, 1498, p. 122.
HISTORIA de Vespasiano. *Fernandez*, 1496, p. 129, pl. xxvi.; *Brun*, 1499, p. 96.
HORDENANZAS. *See* Ordenanzas.
HORES de setmana sancta. *Hagenbach and Hutz*, 1494, p. 136.
HUGO DE STO VICTORE, Speculum ecclesiae. *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 103.
HYMNI. *Rosenbach*, 1498, p. 134; *Luschner*, 1500, p. 141. *See also* Expositio.

INFANTE, Forma libelandi. *Biel*, s.a. p. 112.
INTERPRETACION de la sentencia real de 1481, p. 95.
ISAAC, De ordinatione animae. *Gumiel*, 1497, p. 139.
—— De religione. *San Cucufate*, 1489, p. 120.

JANUARIUS, Ingressus. *Michael*, 1492, p. 132.
JEROME, S. Vitas patrum. *Salamanca*, 1498, p. 103.
JIMENEZ. *See* Ximenez.
JOHANNES, Comprehensorium. *Palmart*, 1475, p. 89.
JOHANNES Junior, Scala coeli. *Seville*, 1496, p. 145.
JOHANNES DE CAPUA, Exemplario contra engaños. *Hurus*, 1493, p. 113; *Biel*, 1498, p. 110.
JOSEPHUS, Antiguedades. *Spindeler*, 1482, p. 97.
—— Guerra Judaica. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124.

KAMINTUS, Regimen contra pestilentiam. *Fernandez*, s.a. p. 129.

LANFRANCO, Cirujia. *Tres compañeros*, 1495, p. 121.
LEYES por la brevedad de pleitos, s.n. (for Fernando de Jaen), p. 95; s.n. (for maestre Pedro), p. 95.
LEYES de las cortes de Toledo, s.n. 1480, p. 94.
LEYES del estilo. *Hagenbach*, 1498, p. 136; *Hagenbach*, s.a. p. 138; *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 105.
LEYES del quaderno nuevo de alcabalas. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, s.a. p. 128.
LI, A. de. Repertorio de tiempos. *Burgos*, 1495, p. 130; *Hurus*, 1495, p. 114.
—— Thesoro de la pasion. *Hurus*, 1494, p. 114.
LIBER processionum ord. praedicatorum. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
LIBROS menores. *Hagenbach*, 1499, p. 136.
LIRA, Nic. de. Tabula. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124.
LIVIO, Decadas. *Salamanca*, 1497, p. 103.
LLAVIA, R. de. Cancionero. *Hurus*, 1489, p. 116.
LOPEZ, J. Libro de los evangelios. *Centenera*, 1490, p. 106.
LOPEZ DE AYALA, Chronica de D. Pedro. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126.
LOPEZ DE MENDOZA. *See* Mendoza.
LORA, Aurea expositio hymnorum. *See* Expositio.
LOTHARIUS LEVITA, De vilitate. *Posa*, 1489, p. 100.
LUCENA, Repeticion de amores. *Hutz and Sanz*, s.a. p. 102, pl. x.
—— Vita beata. *Centenera*, 1483, p. 106; *Burgos*, 1499, p. 131.
LUDOLFUS DE SAXONIA, Lo primer del Cartoxa. *Valencia*, 1496, p. 146.
—— Lo segon del Cartoxa. *Valencia*, 1500, p. 146.
—— Lo quart del Cartoxa. *Valencia*, 1495 (2 edd.), p. 146.
—— Vita Christi. *Nic. de Saxonia and Fernandez*, 1495, p. 130.
LULL, Arbor scientiae. *Posa*, 1482, p. 99.
—— Ars brevis. *Posa and Brun*, 1481, p. 96; *Posa*, 1489, p. 99.
—— De conceptione. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1491, p. 120.
—— Logica. *Posa*, s.a. p. 99.
—— Proverbia. *Michael*, 1493, p. 132.
—— Theologia. *Michael*, 1493, p. 132.

MALLA, F. de. Pecador remut. *Vendrell*, 1483, p. 93; *Rosenbach*, ca. 1495, p. 135, pl. iii.[b].
MANRIQUE, G. Regimiento de principes. *Centenera*, s.a. p. 107.

MANRIQUE, J. Coplas. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
MANRIQUEZ, In obitum Roderici. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
MANUALE. *Centenera*, 1488, p. 106.
MANUALE Hispalense. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
MANUALE sacramentorum. *Gherling*, 1496, p. 89.
MARINEUS, L. Epistolae. *Biel*, 1498, p. 110.
MARTINEZ DE AMPIES, Anticristo. *Hurus*, 1496, p. 114; *Biel*, 1497, p. 110.
—— Triunfo de Maria. *Hurus*, 1495, p. 114.
MARTINEZ DE TOLEDO, Vicios y virtudes de las mujeres. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1498, p. 128; *Hagenbach*, 1499, p. 136; *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
MARTINUS POLONUS, Tabula. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497, p. 124.
MARTORELL, Tirant lo blanch. *Spindeler*, 1490, p. 97, pl. xxx.; *Michael and Gumiel*, 1497, p. 132.
MATES, Bart. Pro efficiendis orationibus. *Gherling*, 1468, p. 89.
MAYRONIS, F. de. Arma militiae. *Botel*, 1485, p. 101.
MEJIA, Nobiliario. *Brun and Gentil*, 1492, p. 96, pl. xx.ª.
MELA, Cosmographia. *Valencia*, 1482, p. 90; *Salamanca*, 1498, p. 105, pl. xi., xii.
MENA, Coplas de los siete pecados. *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 104, pl. xv.
—— Coronacion. *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122; *Stanislaus*, 1499, p. 128.
—— Trescientas s. Laberinto. *Sevilla*, 1496, p. 146; *Tres compañeros*, 1499 (2 edd.), p. 122.
MENAGUERRA, P. de. Caballero. *Valencia*, 1493, p. 146.
MENDOZA, J. L. de. Ceremonias de misa. *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122.
MENDOZA, J. L. de. Coplas de vita Christi. *Centenera*, s.a. p. 107, pl. xxxi.; *Centenera*, 1482, p. 106; *Hurus*, 1492, p. 113; *Hurus*, 1495, p. 114; *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122; *Pegnitzer and Herbst*, s.a. p. 123.
—— Proverbios. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1494, p. 125.
MEXIA. *See* Mejia.
MINGO REVULGO, Coplas. *Biel*, s.a. p. 112, pl. iv.ª.
MIRAVET, Grammatica. *Hagenbach and Hutz*, 1495, p. 136.
MISSALE Benedictinum. *Luschner*, 1499, p. 141.
—— Braccarense. *Nic. de Saxonia*, 1496, p. 98; *Nic. de Saxonia*, 1498, p. 98.
—— Caesaraugustanum. *Hurus*, 1485, p. 112; *Hurus*, 1498, p. 115.
—— de Huesca. *Hurus*, 1488, p. 112.
—— Legionense. *Salamanca*, 1488, p. 105.
—— Mixtum. *Hagenbach*, 1499, p. 136; *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
—— Montis Regii s. Auriense. *Pasera and Porras*, 1494, p. 138.
—— Tarraconense. *Rosenbach*, 1499, p. 134.
—— Vicense. *Luschner and Preus*, 1496, p. 140.
MONTE ROTHERII, Guido de. Manipulus curatorum. *Mathaeus Flander*, 1475, p. 92; *Spindeler*, 1479, p. 96; *Spindeler*, 1484, p. 97.

NEBRISSENSIS, Ael. Ant. Introductiones. *Salamanca*, 1481, p. 102; *Salamanca*, 1482, p. 102; *Biel*, 1493, p. 109; *Centenera*, s.a. p. 107.
—— Epithalamium. *Salamanca*, 1491, p. 104.
—— Grammatica en castellano. *Salamanca*, 1492, p. 102.
—— Vocabularium Lat.-Hisp. *Salamanca*, 1492, p. 102.

NEBRISSENSIS, Ael. Ant. Vocabularium Hisp.-Lat. *Salamanca*, 1495, p. 102.
—— Vafre dicta philosophorum. *Salamanca*, s.a. p. 104.
—— Aurea expositio hymnorum. *See* Expositio.
NIGER, De modo epistolandi. *Rosenbach*, 1493, p. 133; *Biel*, 1494, p. 110.

OBRA allaors de S. Christofol. *Tringer*, 1498, p. 108.
OBRES e trobes. *Palmart*, s.a. *See* Fenollar.
OFFICIA quotidiana. *Coci*, etc., 1500, p. 116.
OFFICIUM beatae Mariae. *Palmart*, 1486, p. 92, pl. xxviii.
OLIVEROS DE CASTILLA. *Burgos*, 1499, p. 145.
ORATIONES ad plenum collectae. *Biel*, s.a. p. 112.
ORATIONES sacrae. *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
ORDENAMIENTO de los Reyes Catolicos. *Stanislaus*, 1500, p. 128.
ORDENANZAS para reformacion de la audiencia. *Francour*, 1493, p. 135.
ORDINARIUS Ilerdensis ecclesiae. *Botel*, s.a. p. 101.
ORTIZ, Cinco tratados. *Tres compañeros*, 1493, p. 121.
OSMA, Pedro de. In ethica Aristotelis. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 104.
OVIDIO, Transformacions. *Michael*, 1494, p. 132.

PABLO, San. Epistolas. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 104.
PADILLA, J. de. Laberinto. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1493, p. 124.
PALENCIA, Alf. de. Synonimos. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1491, p. 124.
—— Vocabulario. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1490, p. 120.
PARENTINIS, Expositio missae. *Mathaeus Flander*, 1478, p. 92, pl. xvi.
PARTIDAS, Siete. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1491, p. 124.
PASION de Christo. *Biel*, s.a. p. 112, pl. v.ª.
PAULUS, Hier. Barcinona. *Michael*, 1491, p. 132.
PEDRO, Itinerario. *Fernandez*, s.a. p. 129.
PEDRO PASCUAL, Biblia pequeña. *Rosenbach*, 1492, p. 133.
PERALDUS, Enseñamiento de religiosos. *Brocar*, 1499, p. 118.
PEREZ DE GUZMAN, Fern. Coplas. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1492, p. 124.
PEREZ DE VALENCIA, Jaime. In cantica ferialia. *Palmart*, 1484, p. 91.
—— In canticum canticorum. *Palmart*, 1486, p. 91, pl. xxix.
—— In psalmos. *Palmart*, 1484, p. 91.
—— Oracional. *Roca*, 1487, p. 107.
—— Super Magnificat, etc. *Palmart*, 1485, p. 91.
—— Super Te Deum. *Palmart*, 1485, p. 91.
—— Tractatus contra Judaeos. *Palmart*, 1484, p. 91.
PEREZ, Mig. Vida de la verge Maria. *Spindeler*, 1494, p. 97.
PEROTTUS, Rudimenta gram maticae. *Spindeler and Brun*, 1477, p. 5.
PETRUS DE ALVERNIA. *See* Alvernia.
PHALARIS, Epistulae. *Spindeler*, 1496, p. 97; *Roca*, 1496, p. 108.
PHYSICA pauperum. *Posa*, 1482, p. 99.
PICCOLOMINI, Aen. Silv. *See* Aeneas.
PLUTARCO, Vidas. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1491, p. 120, pl. xxi.
PODIO, Guill. de. Commentaria musices. *Hagenbach and Hutz*, 1495, p. 136.
POEMA de contemptu mundi. *Coci*, etc., 1500, p. 116.
PRAGMATICA de perayles. *See* Sancion.

PRATS, Vers. *Calafat*, 1487, p. 107.
PROCESIONARIUM. *Luschner*, 1500, p. 141, pl. vii., viii.
PROCESSIONARIUM ord. praedicatorum. *See* Liber processionum.
PULGAR, Claros varones. *Vazquez*, 1486, p. 117; *Stanislaus*, 1500 (2 edd.), p. 128.

QUADERNO de alcabalas, s.n. 1484, p. 94; *Centenera*, 1486, p. 106.
QUADERNO nuevo de alcabalas. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, s.a. *See* Leyes.
QUADERNO de leyes de la hermandad, s.n. 1486, p. 95.

RAIMUNDUS DE CAPUA, Santa Caterina. *Cofman*, 1499, p. 142.
RAMIREZ DE LUCENA. *See* Lucena.
RHOENSIS, In libros politicorum. *Porras*, 1500, p. 139.
RICOLDUS, Improbatio Alcorani. *Stanislaus*, 1500, p. 128.
RODRIGO, Espejo de la vida. *Saragossa*, 1481, p. 92; *Hurus*, 1491, p. 113.
RODRIGUEZ DE ALMELLA, D. Copilacion de batallas. *Roca*, 1487, p. 107.
—— Valerio de historias. *Roca*, 1487, p. 107.
ROIG, J. De patre non incarnato. *Valencia*, 1494, p. 146.
ROLEWINK, Wern. Fasciculus temporum. *Segura and Puerto*, 1480, p. 93, pl. xix.
ROMAN, Trobas de la pasion. *Vazquez*, s.a. p. 117.
RUBRICAE observantiarum regni Aragonum. *Mathaeus Flander*, s.a. p. 92.
RUIZ DE CORELLA, Lo primer-quart del Cartoxa. *See* Ludolfus de Saxonia.

SABUNDIUS, Raym. Viola animae. *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
SALLUSTIUS, Bellum Jugurtinum. *Palmart*, 1475, p. 90.
—— Catilinario. *Hurus*, 1493, p. 113; *J. de Burgos*, 1500, p. 131.
SAMUEL, Rabbi. Carta. *Hurus*, 1496, p. 114.
—— Epistola. *Palmart*, s.a. p. 90.
SANCHEZ DE VERCIAL, Sacramental. *Martinez*, etc., 1477, p. 93; *Martinez*, etc., 1478, p. 93; *Botel*, 1495, p. 101.
SANCION, Pragmatica, para los perailes, 1500, p. 95.
SANCT CLIMENT, Arithmetica. *Posa*, 1482, p. 98.
SAN PEDRO, Carcel de amor. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1492, p. 120; *Biel*, 1496, p. 110; *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137.
—— Carcer d'amor. *Rosenbach*, 1493, p. 133, pl. ii.
SANTAELLA, Vocabularium. *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122.
—— Sacerdotalis instructio. *Tres compañeros*, 1499, p. 122.
SANTOS, Dicteria. *Salamanca*, 1497, p. 103.
SENECA, Obras. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1491, p. 123.
—— Epistolas. *Hurus*, 1496, p. 114.
—— Proverbios. *Centenera*, 1482, p. 106; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1495, p. 126; *Hagenbach*, 1500, p. 137; *Pegnitzer and Herbst*, 1500, p. 122.
STATUTA inquisitionis, 1500. *See* Deza.
SULPITIUS, Opusculum. *Michael*, 1491, p. 131.
SUMMA utilissima errorum. *Seville*, 1500, p. 146.

TABULA Martiniana. *See* Martinus Polonus.
TALAVERA, Impugnatio catholica. *Seville*, s.a. p. 146.
TALAVERA, arcipreste de. *See* Martinez de Toledo.
TEODULUS. *Centenera*, 1492, p. 106.
THOMAS AQUINAS, Super libros ethicorum Aristotelis. *Spindeler and Brun*, 1478, p. 96.

THOMAS AQUINAS, In libros politicorum Aristotelis. *Spindeler and Brun*, 1478, p. 96.
—— In Aristotelis de generatione. *Hutz and Sanz*, 1496, p. 102.
—— Tertia pars Summae. *Palmart*, 1477, p. 90.
TIRANT lo Blanch. *See* Martorell.
TOMIC, Historia. *Rosenbach*, 1495, p. 133.
TORQUEMADA, Expositio in psalmos. *Mathaeus Flander*, 1482, p. 92.
TORRE, Alf. de la. Visio delectable. *Vendrell*, 1484, p. 92.
TORRES, Eclipse del sol. *Salamanca*, 1485, p. 102.
—— Reglas astronomicas. *Salamanca*, 1487, p. 105.
TRACTAT breve de confessio. *Valencia*, 1493, p. 146.
TRANSIT de San Jeronimo. *Posa*, 1482, p. 99; *Posa*, 1492, p. 100; *Michael*, 1493, p. 132.
TRANSITO de San Jeronimo. *Hurus*, 1492, p. 113.
TRATADO breve de confesion. *Biel*, 1490, p. 109; *Francour*, 1492, p. 135.
TRATADO de la vida y estado de perfeccion. *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 103.
TURRECREMATA. *See* Torquemada.

USATGES de Barcelona. *Barcelona*, 1495, p. 145.

VAGAD, Cronica de Aragon. *Hurus*, 1499, p. 115, pl. xviii.
VALENTIA, Jacobus de. *See* Perez, Jaime.
VALERA, Cronica de España. *Puerto*, 1482, p. 93; *Biel*, 1487, p. 109; *Hurus*, 1493, p. 113; *Salamanca*, 1493, p. 102; *Salamanca*, 1495, p. 103; *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 103; *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 104, pl. xiii.[d].
VALERIO MAXIMO. *Hurus*, 1495, p. 114.
VERARDUS, Fernandus servatus. *Salamanca*, 1499, p. 105.
VERCIAL. *See* Sanchez de Vercial.
VERGEL de consolacion. *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1497 (2 edd.), p. 127; *Ungut and Stanislaus*, 1499, p. 128.
VERGERIUS, De ingenuis moribus. *Posa and Brun*, 1481, p. 96.
VERINUS, Disticha. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 105.
VICENT, Jochs partits dels scachs. *Roca*, 1495, p. 108.
VIDA de Sant Honorat. *Roca*, 1485, p. 107; *Roca*, 1495, p. 108.
VIDA e transit de S. Jeronimo. *See* Transit.
VIDA de S. Onofre. *Cofman*, 1499, p. 142.
VIDA del Ysopet. *See* Aesopus, fabulae.
VILANOVA, Rudimentum Grammaticae. *Spindeler*, 1500, p. 97.
VILLA DEI, Al. de. Doctrinale. *Luschner and Preus*, 1495, p. 140; *Gumiel*, 1499, p. 139.
VILLADIEGO, Contra hereticam pravitatem. *Hutz and Sanz*, 1496, p. 102.
VILLALOBOS, Sumario de medicina. *Salamanca*, 1498, p. 103, pl. xiii.[c].
VILLENA, Trabajos de Hercules. *Centenera*, 1483, p. 106, pl. xxxii.; *J. de Burgos*, 1499, p. 131, pl. v.[b].
VILLENA, Isabel de. Vita Christi. *Roca*, 1497, p. 108.
VINCENTIUS DE CASTRONOVO, De puritate conceptionis. *Villagusa*, 1498, p. 145.
VINYOLES, Omelia sobre lo psalm miserere. *Spindeler*, 1499, p. 97.
VIRGILIUS, Bucolica. *Tres compañeros*, 1498, p. 121.
VITA d. Hieronymi Pauli. *Salamanca*, 1496, p. 104.
VITAS patrum. *See* Jerome.

XIMENEZ, Franc. De las donas. *Rosenbach*, 1495, p. 133.

XIMENEZ, Franc. Regimen de princeps. *Palmart*, 1484, p. 91.
—— De Tormis inundatione. *Salamanca*, 1500, p. 105.
—— Libre Crestia. *Palmart*, 1483, p. 91.
—— Libro de los angeles. *Biel*, 1490, p. 109.
—— Libre dels angels. *Rosenbach*, 1494, p. 133; *Michael*, 1494, p. 132.
—— Pastorale. *Posa*, 1495, p. 100.
—— Regiment de la cosa publica. *Cofman*, 1499, p. 142.
—— Scala Dei. *Gumiel*, 1494, p. 139.
—— Vita Christi. *Ungut and Pegnitzer*, 1496, p. 123.

XIMENEZ DE PREXAMO, Confutatorium errorum. *Vazquez*, 1486, p. 116, pl. xxvii.
—— Floretum s. El Tostado sobre S. Mateo. *Cuatro compañeros*, 1491, p. 120.
—— Lucero de la vida christiana. *Salamanca*, 1493, p. 105; *Salamanca*, 1495, p. 105; *Biel*, 1495, p. 110.
—— Llum de la vida christiana. *Posa*, 1496, p. 100.

YSOPET. *See* Aesopus.
YSTORIA. *See* Historia.

ZACUTHUS, Tabulae. *Orta*, 1496, p. 145.

INDEX OF PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, AND PROMOTERS.

Aguilar, pp. 32, 76.
Albo, Jos., p. 46.
Aleix, maestre, p. 20.
Alfaro, Ant. de, p. 27.
Amoros, Carles, pp. 33, 81.
Anella, Balt., pp. 21, 22.
Antonius, Aelius. *See* Nebrissensis.
Anvers, Adr. de, p. 47.
Appentegger, Wolf, XI., pp. 25, 39, 116.
Arias, Franc., p. 28.
Arinyo, Gabr. Luis de, pp. 7, 31.
Avila, Gasp. de, p. 52.

Bartolomé de Lila. *See* Lila.
Basilea, Cristobal de. *See* Cofman.
Basilea, Fadrique de. *See* Biel.
Belch, Ulr., p. 76.
Benedictis, Nic. de, p. 32.
Bergman de Olpe, Joh., p. 34.
Bernuz, Pet., pp. 43-44.
Biel, Fred., X., pp. 12, 33-35, 48, 83, 108-112.
Blavius, Joh., p. 65.
Botel, Henr., V., pp. 21, 23-24, 101.
Brocar, A. G. de, XIV., pp. 23, 35, 46-50, 52, 68, 117-119.
Brocar, Joh. de, pp. 49-50.
Brun, Pet., IV., pp. 15-16, 18-19, 21, 23, 95, 96.
Buonhomini, Giov. Piet., pp. 61, 62.
Burgos, Andr. de, pp. 52, 67.
Burgos, Juan de, XVIII., pp. 67-68, 130-131.

Calafat, Nic., IX., pp. 30, 107.
Caldenteius, Bart., p. 30.
Campos, Herm. de, p. 31.
Camps, Pet., pp. 32, 76.
Castillo, Garcia del, pp. 13, 14.
Castro, Alvaro de, pp. 81-82, 145.
Castro, Pet. de, p. 82.
Centenera, Ant. de, VII., pp. 28-29, 106-107.
Coci, Geo., XI., pp. 25, 38, 39, 40-43, 54, 116.
Cofman, Crist., XXVI., pp. 20, 29-30, 142-143.
Colonia, Paul de. *See* Compañeros, Cuatro, p. 51.
Compañeros Cuatro and Tres, XVI., pp. 50-52, 120-123.
Conrad, maestre, p. 54.
Cromberger. *See* Kromberger.

Dachauer, Mich., pp. 13, 14.
Deuder, Raf., p. 33.

Eguia, Mig. de, p. 50.
Emden, Joh. de, p. 65.

Fadrique. *See* Biel.
Favario, Juan Thom., p. 52.
Ferber, Frank, pp. 32, 76.

Fernandez, Valentin, XVII., pp. 20, 21, 31, 61-62, 129-130.
Fernandez de Cordoba, Al., I., pp. 5-7, 90.
Fernandez de Cordoba, Diego, p. 7.
Fonseca, bishop, p. 49.
Francour, Juan de, XXI., pp. 72, 135.
Furter, John, p. 34.

Gazaniis, Laz. de, pp. 54, 55.
Gentile, John, XXVI., pp. 15, 19.
Gherling, Joh., pp. 3, 4, 74, 89.
Giesser, Joh., pp. 77-78, 144.
Glockner, Thom. *See* Compañeros, p. 52.
Gordiola, Joh., p. 33.
Gorricio, Melch., pp. 27, 54, 73.
Gumiel, Diego de, XXIV., pp. 23, 30, 75, 139-140.

Hagenbach, Pet., XXII., pp. 17, 24, 25, 27, 72-74, 135-138.
Herbst, Magn. *See* Campañeros, pp. 51-52, 121-123.
Huete. *See* Castro, Alvaro de.
Hurus, Joh., XI., pp. 36-37, 38, 40, 112.
Hurus, Paul, XI., pp. 35-39, 40, 41, 42, 52, 53, 112-116.
Hutz, Leonh., VI., XI., and XXII., pp. 24-25, 37, 39-40, 72, 102, 116, 135-136.

Isabella, Queen, pp. 13, 28.

Jaen, Fern. de, p. 17.
Jimenez, cardinal, pp. 48-49, 73.
Joffré, Juan, p. 30.
Junta, Juan de, p. 78.

Kromberger, Jac., pp. 40, 55, 56-67.
Kromberger, Joh., pp. 59-67.

Lalemand, Jean, p. 70.
Lambert, Laurenszoon, pp. 7, 9.
Lanzalao. *See* Stanislaus.
Lavezaris, Guido de, p. 74.
Lila, Bart. de, XIII., pp. 46, 83, 117.
Lopis, Franc., p. 20.
Luschner, Joh., XXV., pp. 32, 71, 75-77, 140-142.

Malo, Pet., p. 33.
Manescal, Jaime, p. 33.
Martinez, Ant., III., pp. 12-15, 17, 18, 93, 94.
Martini, Theodor, p. 11.
Mathaeus Flander, II., pp. 7-9, 92.
Mathias, Ant., pp. 7-9.
Mayer, Henr., p. 12.
Mey, Joh., p. 52.
Michael, Pet., XIX., pp. 22-23, 68-69, 75, 131-132.
Mir, Nandeu, p. 19.
Moravia, Val. de. *See* Fernandez.

Najera, Bart. de, p. 43.
Najera, Steph. G. de, p. 43.
Nebrissensis, Aelius Antonius, pp. 25-27, 28, 35, 48-49.
Nebrissensis, Sancho, pp. 26-27.
Nicolaus de Saxonia, IV. and XVII., pp. 19-20, 61-62, 98, 130.

Office of Inquisition, pp. 80, 145.
Orta, Alf. de, pp. 78-79.
Orta, Juan de, p. 79.
Ortas, Abr., p. 79.
Ortas, Sam., p. 79.

Palmart, Lamb., I., pp. 5-8, 31, 89-92.
Paoli, Giov., pp. 64, 65.
Paredes, Juan de, p. 28.
Pasera, Gonzalo Rodrigo de la, XXIII., pp. 74, 138.
Pedro, maestre, pp. 14, 15-18, 19.
Pegnitzer, Joh. *See* Compañeros, pp. 51, 54, 55, 121-123.
Porras, Juan de, XXIII., pp. 24, 74-75, 138-139.
Posa, Pedro, IV., pp. 9, 18-22, 69, 79, 96, 98-101.

Pou, Gabr., pp. 79, 145.
Preus, Ger., XXV., pp. 75-76, 140.
Puerto, Alf. del, III., pp. 12, 93.

Quinquemio, Joh., p. 65.

Rei, Juan de, pp. 79-80, 145.
Roca, Lope de la, IX., pp. 20, 30-32, 35, 107-108.
Rodriguez de Laguna, Crist., p. 28.
Ros, Guill., p. 3.
Rosenbach, Joh., XX., pp. 69-72, 133-135.

Salamanca presses, VI., pp. 24-27, 102-105.
San Cucufate, XV., pp. 50, 120.
Sanz, Lup., VI., pp. 24-25, 102.
Schirl, Henr., p. 76.
Segura, Bart., III., pp. 12, 93.
Sevilla, Al. de, p. 28.
Spindeler, Nic., IV., pp. 18-21, 23, 95-98.
Stanislaus Polonus, XVII., pp. 53-57, 58, 59, 74, 80-84, 123-129.

Talavera, archbish., pp. 51, 54.
Tellez, Juan, XII., pp. 45, 117.
Teodorico aleman, pp. 10-11, 13.
Thierry, Nic., p. 52.
Trincher, Franc., pp. 33, 77.
Trincher, Joh., pp. 32-33, 76.
Trincher, Pet., IX., pp. 32-33, 108.

Ungut, Mein., XVII., pp. 51, 53-55, 58, 74, 123-128.

Valdes, Juan de, II., pp. 22, 93.
Vazquez, Juan, XII., pp. 45, 116-117.
Vendrell, Matt., pp. 8-9, 21-22, 23, 93.
Vila, Jaime de, XXII., pp. 72-73, 136.
Villagusa, Jaime de, pp. 80, 145.
Villamarichs, Gabr. de, p. 77.
Vizlandt, Phil., p. 6.

Wensler, Mich., p. 33.
Westphalia, Joh. de, p. 11.

Zacoma, Juan, p. 19.
Zumarraga, bishop, p. 64.

CHISWICK PRESS:—CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.